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CONTENTS

	PAGE
1. THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE SUBLIME. <i>Professor C. C. Everett</i>	113
2. THE FARMERS' ALLIANCE. <i>Professor C. S. Walker</i>	127
3. TREATMENT OF MEN IN THE U. S. NAVY. <i>Lieutenant Wadhams</i>	140
4. ANALOGIC. <i>Rev. Charles Beecher</i>	151
5. THE WESTMINSTER CONFESSION AND THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH. <i>C. C. Tiffany, D. D.</i>	158
6. EDITORIAL.	
THE HARM OF UNEDIFYING PREACHING	174
THE ANGLO-GERMAN AGREEMENT	176
A SEQUEL TO THE WEST AFRICAN CONFERENCE OF 1884-1885	182
7. ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES. <i>Professor Taylor</i>	185
8. SOCIAL ECONOMICS.	
THE OUTLINE OF AN ELECTIVE COURSE OF STUDY. PART II. THE TREATMENT OF CRIME AND THE CRIMINAL CLASSES. <i>Professor Tucker</i>	192
9. NOTES FROM ENGLAND. <i>Mr. Joseph King, M. A.</i>	196
10. BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.	
Mead's <i>Supernatural Revelation</i> , 199. — Gray's <i>The Church's Certain Faith</i> , 203. — Riggs's <i>Notes on Difficult Passages of the New Testament</i> , 204. — Newton's <i>Dr.</i> Muhlenberg, 206. — Woods's <i>Edward Burton</i> , 208. — Meta Lander's <i>Marion Graham</i> , 209. — Ames's <i>Memoirs of a Millionaire</i> , 209. — Phelps' and Ward's <i>The Master of</i> the <i>Magicians</i> , 210. — Curtin's <i>Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland</i> , 210. — Hopkins's <i>Monsignor Capel</i> , 210. — Sterrett's <i>Christian Unity</i> , 212.	

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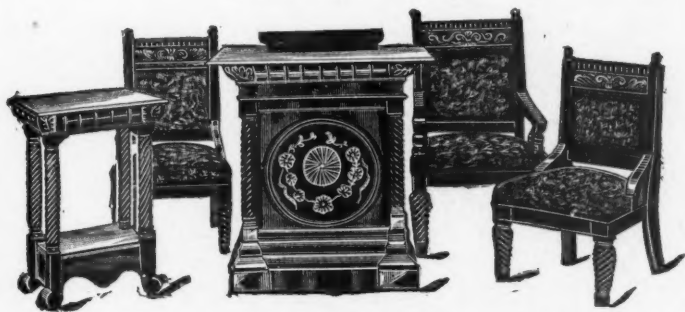
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THE
ANDOVER REVIEW:
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VOL. XIV.—AUGUST, 1890.—No. LXXX.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE SUBLIME.

As an introduction to the examination that is before us let us, in imagination, start from the mouth of the river Rhine, and follow the stream up toward its source. The lower Rhine in itself has little charm. There is, indeed, always a beauty in water and shore, in smiling meadows, and in the over-arching sky. In the lower Rhine there is added to such charm the quaintness of the frequent windmills, and sometimes an interest of architecture, as one passes through towns and villages. But nothing of all this would specially attract the traveler. At Cologne begins what the world has known as the beauty of the Rhine. Now the river winds among picturesque hills covered with vines or forests and crowned, often, by some crumbling ruin. This beauty, indeed, is not now what it was. The river has been protected, and at the same time humiliated, by embankments. The forests have been cut away. Modern buildings stare upon us more and more from the shores and the hillsides that had been sacred to the past. The clay color of the water seems more fitted to the present surroundings than it did to the picturesqueness of the former times. I can now almost remember it as yellow, which I could not in earlier years, when memory at least painted the water to make it correspond with the beauty through which it flowed. In spite of all this, the middle Rhine is beautiful, and, if we criticise it, it is only when we compare it with its former self. Pressing upward we reach the region of the *Via Mala*. Here the scene has changed. The stream, white with the foam of its haste, presses along the narrow channel which it has formed for itself between precipitous

walls of rock. We look down at the river and it seems so far beneath us! We look up, and the steep rocky walls rise above us towards the heavens. We look around, and are shut in on every side as our course, following that of the current so far below, winds through this massive masonry of nature. On the summit of the lofty mountain which forms one side of the entrance to this chasm stand the ruins of the old castle of Rhetius, which from above looks down upon the winding way, dominating it from its height.

Lower down the stream we had simply delight in watching the beauty through which we passed, save now and then when some sterner height and narrower passage gave to our delight a touch of awe. Here there is still gladness; but the awe has become more profound. Indeed, we call the scene awful rather than beautiful. Beauty has passed into sublimity.

Examples like this might lead to the thought that sublimity is only an intenser form of the beautiful, so that one passes through beauty to reach sublimity. Other examples, however, suggest different results. Let us compare, for instance, Mount Vesuvius and Mont Blanc. Mont Blanc is an example of sublimity developed out of beauty. The mighty mass of rock and ice and snow that overpowers us by its vastness is largely made up of what on a smaller scale is simply beautiful. Snow, so long as it preserves its purity, is beautiful under whatever relations it may be viewed. It is beautiful when it clothes a stretch of hill and plain with its whiteness. It is beautiful when it drapes the pines which bow beneath the burden. It is beautiful when the separate flakes, with their delicate crystalline formation, rest upon the sleeve. In the snow mountain we have only another form of the same beauty. But there is Mount Vesuvius as well as Mont Blanc. If Mont Blanc shows the sublimity to which beauty may attain, Vesuvius shows that sublimity is possible when there is no touch of beauty. In Mont Blanc we have the sublimity of light, in Mount Vesuvius that of darkness. As we reach the summit it is black and lifeless. No bird finds its way through the sulphurous air. In spite of, or through, this wildness of desolation, we receive an impression of sublimity equal at least to that which the fairest snow mountain may furnish. If we repeat the experiment which we tried in the case of Mont Blanc, and reduce this upper portion of Mount Vesuvius to the elements of which it consists, and reduce these to the dimensions under which we ordinarily meet them, we should have before us nothing more beautiful than an ash heap.

There is, indeed, another way of reducing the mountain till it loses its sublimity, and that is by distance. As seen from Castellamare, across the bay of Naples, its mighty bulk made ethereal by the distance and by the soft Italian atmosphere, its graceful shape, surmounted by its flag of smoke, harmonizes well with the general beauty of the scene. It has, however, changed its character by the process. The rudeness and desolateness which gave to it its sublimity have been refined away.

The sublime may thus be produced by elements that in themselves are beautiful, and by those that are the opposite of beautiful. The relation between beauty and sublimity might, then, seem to be wholly accidental. Our common thought and speech, however, contradict this assumption. The two are spoken of together. We say "The beautiful and the sublime." Our scientific thought unites them precisely as our superficial thought does. Our treatises on æsthetics discuss sublimity as they discuss beauty. The two are thus placed side by side, as dividing the æsthetic world between them. Even Kant, who distinguished them most sharply from one another, making them as antithetical to one another as subject and object, spirit and matter, even he treats them in the same connection; and by their position in his discussion seems practically to deny this heterogeneity.

The work of Kant has been so influential in the development of modern thought upon this theme, and brings out so emphatically one view of sublimity which, whether we accept it or not as true, we must admit to be in itself sublime, that we shall do well to give some consideration to it.

We are met first by the startling fact that Kant, so far as his system was concerned, recognized no outward object as sublime. Here he makes that grand distinction between beauty and sublimity to which I just referred. The seat of beauty is in the outward world; that of sublimity is in the soul. The outward object may be beautiful, but there is no sublimity save in the spiritual world. The sense of sublimity is awakened when the soul, startled or stimulated by certain outward objects, recoils upon itself, and feels the grandeur of its own nature and the awe which the spiritual world alone can produce.

Kant recognizes two forms of sublimity; one he calls mathematical, the other dynamic. One is produced by the contemplation of vastness, the other by that of power. An object produces the effect of sublimity by its vastness when the mind finds it impossible to represent by the imagination the extent which it recog-

nizes as really existing. The understanding finds some unit of measurement which it applies successively, pressing from point to point as it strives to comprehend the vastness which it studies. The imagination tries to keep pace with it, representing its results under some form which can be contemplated as a whole. Striving to grasp the result of the advancing measurements, however, it loses that already reached. It can only put so much into its picture. When it strives to do more it loses what it has gained. It is thus bewildered and made dizzy by the sweeping before it of what it cannot apprehend. This practical immeasurableness of the object which is beheld, this impotence of the imagination to keep pace with the understanding, suggests the idea of the infinite. The reason stretches out after this idea of infinitude. It holds the idea even if it can never fully grasp or represent it. It feels not only that no imagination can picture it, and that no measurement can exhaust it; it feels that no object in the external world can manifest it. The soul has thus a sense of its exaltation over whatever the material universe contains. It has an idea which would bankrupt the universe should this undertake to show it forth. It is this sense of the loftiness of the spiritual nature which constitutes, according to Kant, the feeling of sublimity. We call the outer object sublime, simply by the force of association, because in connection with it we experience the power of sublimity. The outer object, however, is not sublime. The soul and the inconceivable powers which manifest themselves in and through it are all which can properly be spoken of as sublime.

The other form of the sublime recognized by Kant is the dynamic. The sense of it arises when we find ourselves in the presence of the mighty forces of nature, and feel how helpless we should be if exposed to their power. Even, however, with the feeling of this helplessness in the conflict thus represented by the imagination comes the sense of something which these destructive forces cannot reach. The spirit feels that by its lofty nature and the relations in which it stands to the infinite and the eternal it is raised far above the forces of the material world. Its real substance cannot be touched by them. Thus, even in the defeat which the imagination pictures as the outer man is crushed by these relentless powers of nature, comes a sense of victory in the feeling that the real man cannot be touched by them.

This relation to the outer world might have been put more strongly than it is by Kant. The peril, as he describes it, is imaginary. There have been, however, those who in a storm at

sea have lost all sense of danger in the exultation produced by the play of the mighty forces in the midst of which they stood. The ship was like a mere cockle-shell upon the waves, rolled and tossed by them till it seemed almost impossible that it should escape uncrushed. These brave men, sometimes, indeed, brave women, have remained in the midst of the peril, lashed for safety to the mast, forgetful of everything save the magnificence of the scene. According to Kant, the joy that they felt arose from the sense of their own exaltation above the wildness of the wind and the sea. The tempest-tossed ocean, according to Kant, is simply horrible. No pleasure can come from contemplating it. The satisfaction that the scene brings is that of the sublimity of the spirit that can survey it undismayed. This dignity is not of the spirit in its mere individuality, but as it represents the spiritual forces of the universe to which it is akin.

This, freely stated, is Kant's theory of the sublime. In reading it one has a sense of sublimity which, superficially considered, might be regarded as a testimony to its truth. If one recalls, however, one's own experience in the matter, it will be found that this subjective exaltation, resulting from a recoil upon one's self and from a sense of spiritual and moral realities, does not exhaust, and does not always accompany, the manifestations of sublimity. In point of fact Kant himself would seem to have forgotten his theory when in the presence of the sublimities of nature, and to have felt emotions of the sublime for which his theory hardly had a place. There is a passage in his works which is familiar to many to whom all else he has written is a sealed book. It is one of the very few passages in which he rises into eloquence, and it is the most eloquent of them all. It is interesting to see in it how even his long and involved sentences can catch a glow from the emotion that utters itself through them, so that one forgets their involution until one attempts to translate them into an equivalent English speech. It is the passage in which he speaks of the two objects of sublimity which fill the soul with a deeper awe the oftener that we contemplate them: one, the starry heavens above; the other, the moral law within. He pictures the relations into which we are brought by each. The contemplation of the starry heavens makes us see ourselves in a vast material universe, in which the world on which we stand is but a point. The spirit feels itself annihilated by the thought. The moral law, on the other hand, brings the spirit into relation in which every act has infinite worth, compared with which the exter-

nal universe is as nothing. In this passage it is noticeable that we have two objects of sublimity, whereas according to the theory of Kant there should be but one. The external nature should have been sublime because it arouses the sense of the grandeur of the moral law; whereas, in the passage, the starry heavens are in themselves sublime. It may be said, indeed, that in this passage Kant simply uses the common mode of speech, as he does so often. There seems, however, a genuineness and a passion in this outburst of enthusiasm which makes it appear a *naïve* expression of actual feeling and not a mere "*façon de parler*."

It is a little singular that Kant, who experienced so intensely the sense of sublimity, should have failed to perceive its real nature, while Hegel, who stated somewhat more truly the relation in which this sense stands to the outer world, should appear to have been utterly devoid of the actual experience of it, so far, at least, as anything except intellectual and spiritual realities are concerned. The attempt to realize the endlessness of eternity by setting up one distant limit after another, only to see that we are no nearer the conception of eternity than we were at the start, was to him simply tedious. The worlds on worlds which astronomy reveals were not to him sublime. He found sublimity only in the laws by which these worlds are governed.

In his more formal treatment of the theme Hegel found sublimity in the fact that the objects which we call sublime suggest the power which is manifesting itself in them and in all things, but which they are utterly unable to fully show forth. We have thus a suggestion of the Infinite. There is in this, however, little that is characteristic of his thought.

Hegel's real view of sublimity comes out most clearly in his discussions in regard to religion, and especially in regard to art. It may be freely expressed as follows: In the beautiful object form and content, the expression and the thing to be expressed, the universal and the individual are in complete accord. The type is fulfilled in the exemplar. In the sublime, on the contrary, the universal meets us in its bare abstractness. To put the thing more simply and concretely, in beauty the elements and forces of nature exhibit themselves in harmonious relations. The power that is in nature comes near to us. It manifests itself in certain details, harmoniously related, so that it is easy of apprehension. In sublimity these elements and forces manifest themselves each for itself. We have fewer details that lead us on to the easy apprehension of their presence. A mountain that presents

itself with precipitous and barren sides affects us as sublime; while the same height which should arise with gradual undulations, and should be clothed with verdure, might strike us as simply beautiful. The uninterrupted waste of the sea may be sublime; but where it is strewn with islands covered with grass or foliage it may be beautiful. In sublimity the face of nature meets us with blank sternness; in beauty it breaks into smiles. Thus, among the followers of Hegel, Solger defines sublimity as "Beauty in the making"; and Vischer affirms the sublime and the comic to be the differentiated elements of which beauty consists; the one being the universal apart from the individual; the other the individual emptied of the universal.

The theories of Kant and Hegel in regard to the sublime are the most important and interesting that have been offered on this theme. They, however, by no means stand alone. A multitude of others grow out from them, or twine about them, or have sprung up in their shadow. Dr. Arthur Seidl has recently brought them together in an interesting monograph.¹ They are mostly, as Seidl intimates, formed to suit the exigencies of some general system in which they have their place. Even including the theories of Kant and, to some extent, that of Hegel, I confess that they seem to me for the most part creations of the study, rather than open-air growths springing out of the facts of experience.

I propose to consider certain assumptions which are made in so many of these systems, including those that we have examined, that they seem to pass for commonplaces.

A position that is very generally taken is that the sense of the sublime is produced by a suggestion of the infinite. Even Seidl, the latest writer upon this theme, insists upon this. I confess I do not quite know what is meant by this suggestion of the infinite of which we hear so much in various relations. Max Müller and others insist that all religions, the lower as well as the higher, are the results simply of a sense of the infinite. So here the sublime involves the idea of the infinite. In both cases the use of the term needs explanation. If it means that in connection with the sublime, or in religion, man loses the sense of limit, whether this is true or false, it is something different from a positive sense of infinitude. The bird, the beast, and the child have no sense of the limit of life. The bird and the beast have no knowledge of such a limit, and the child has no thought of it and no belief in it. This, however,

¹ *Zur Geschichte des Erhabenheitsbegriffes seit Kant.* Leipzig, 1889.

is very different from a consciousness of infinitude. In point of fact, the idea of infinitude would seem to be a very late product of the human mind; and I conceive that there can be no sense of the infinite before this idea has been more or less consciously reached. Even after the idea of the infinite has been reached, I conceive that neither it nor the undefined sense of it is often present to the soul, even in the case of religion. The minds of men deal with the concrete. They deal with the undetermined, it is true. This may produce the sense of a vague vastness, but this is not the infinite. Even though one may be shocked by the thought of a limit, it does not follow that one has had the sense of the unlimited. That the feeling and the thought of the infinite may sometimes be suggested by the sublime object cannot be doubted. This may be, for instance, the case when the limit of this object is beyond our vision as well as beyond our apprehension. This is the case sometimes in the vision of the ocean or the sky. We see no boundary, and the actual limit is too far away for our distinct apprehension. The thought is thus tempted to a quest that seems endless.

A misapprehension that is bound up with the one just named is that the sense of sublimity is, more than that of beauty, the result of reflection. When it is produced by the thought of the infinite it is obviously the product of reflection. From this point of view, a man's recognition of the sublime will be limited only by his power of insight and association. There is nothing so humble that it may not become the expression of sublimity. To Tennyson the "flower in the crannied wall" is sublime, for it represents the universe. Wordsworth could exclaim:—

"To me the meanest flower that blows can give
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears."

The effect of sublimity may, however, be as direct as that of beauty. The sublime object may check thought instead of inspiring it. The very word stupendous illustrates this aspect of the case. The spirit may rest lost in the grandeur of the object of its contemplation.

Another point in which there seems to me to have been a frequent misapprehension is the relation between sublimity and beauty. It has been commonly assumed that when an object is sublime it is no longer beautiful. Thus definitions have been sought that should sharply discriminate the one from the other. I conceive that the sublime object is as often, perhaps more often, at the same time beautiful. It may under certain circumstances

be terrible as well as beautiful. The tiger is none the less beautiful because it is terrible.

To understand the relation between the sublime and the beautiful we need to consider for a moment what it is that constitutes beauty. Without making an analysis of the matter, it may be stated that beauty is the manifestation of the ideal in the real. Thus we have about us the general life of nature; we have this life as it concentrates itself in individual forms; we have the higher manifestation of it in spiritual ideals. Without dwelling upon this matter, which cannot here be adequately discussed, we need merely notice that the manifestation of the forces of nature which cause the sense of sublimity belongs to this general scheme.

Beauty and sublimity may be classed together under both a general and a special aspect. In the first place, they are both forms of contemplation. In the second place, this contemplation is accompanied by a delight in which there is no reference to self. In beauty self may be simply forgotten. In sublimity it may be set at naught. In beauty we have such sympathy with nature that we rejoice in its free life as if it were our own. In sublimity we rejoice in the might and vastness of the outward world as if it were our own. I use here the term outward world in its largest significance, and include all objects of contemplation, the spiritual as well as the material.

The common assumption that when an object is sublime it cannot be beautiful rests upon the notion that certain conditions are essential to sublimity which are fatal to beauty. These conditions are most often expressed in the saying that beauty requires form, while sublimity is best manifested in the formless. According to Kant, chaos would be the highest exhibition of the sublime. The word form as used in this connection has sometimes been misunderstood. Even Vischer urges that everything has form. "The hippopotamus has a form, but what a form it is!" By form is meant a proportion among the various parts that permits them to be taken together as a unity in which the ideal that the object represents is distinctly manifested. The hippopotamus is formless in the sense that in it the unity of life is not distinctly manifested as in, for instance, the antelope. The reason that the formless has been regarded as the best medium of sublimity is the fact that it is difficult to realize the vastness of a structure, all the parts of which are perfectly proportioned to one another. Many have thus expressed disappointment at the first impression produced by the basilica of St. Peter at Rome, and by Niagara Falls.

So far as the Basilica is concerned, many doubtless leave it with no real sense of its immensity. When, however, by closer study one has come to feel some sense of the actual vastness of the pile, the perfection of its form does not at all lessen the recognition of its sublimity. In my first visit to Rome as a youth I reached this impression in a manner hardly compatible with the conventional dignity of more mature years, namely, by lying on my back on the pavement and gazing up into the dome. As I gazed it expanded and soared, till I had some real sense, however imperfect, of its magnitude.

A yet more intense feeling of the same kind has been doubtless produced in most by lying and looking up into the sky. In this case the effect is deepened, not merely by the immeasurably greater breadth and height of the object contemplated, but also by the fact that the sky does not seem, like the dome of the temple, a solid arch, but it tempts the eye to penetrate it.

It is thus true that a certain formlessness or disproportion makes the sense of sublimity more easy to be reached. We see this in the play of the mighty forces of nature. We see it in abrupt and jagged precipices, and in the terrible might of the tempest. The same is true in life. It is easier to feel the power that shows itself in destruction than that which shows itself in construction. Men stand more in awe of Julius Cæsar who raged through the earth, conquering every foe that rose against him, than of Augustus, who reared the magnificent structure of the Roman Empire. Only by careful thought and observation, like those which make us feel the stupendous nature of St. Peter's, can we realize that the career of Augustus Cæsar is one of the most sublime that the world has seen. In like manner it is more easy to feel the sublimity of a partial, than of a complete, nature; of sin than of virtue. Byron impresses the superficial imagination as nearer sublimity than Wordsworth, the Satan of Milton as more sublime than his Deity.

The same distinction meets us in literature. In the "Paracelsus" of Browning we have in Paracelsus and Aprile the two halves of an ideal humanity. Paracelsus, who would know and only know, looms vaster than human through this very imperfection. In the same poem we have vast and vague the personification of the human race, as it gradually awakens to full consciousness and strength:—

"O long ago

The brow was twitched, the tremulous lids astir,
The peaceful mouth disturbed; half uttered speech

Ruffled the lip, and then the teeth were set,
The breath drawn sharp, the strong right hand clenched stronger,
As it would pluck a lion by the jaw ;
The glorious creature laughed out even in sleep !
But when full roused, each giant-limb awake,
Each sinew strung, the great heart pulsing fast,
He shall start up and stand on his own earth,
Thence shall his being date, — thus wholly roused,
What he achieves shall be set down to him."

The rude strength of Michael Angelo produces an effect of sublimity that could hardly be reached by more delicately finished work. Longfellow's poem on "The Lighthouse" affords a striking example of the effect that may be produced by a few strong touches and the omission of all minor details, when the object that is represented is in itself sublime. Especially is this effect seen in the second of the two following lines : —

"The sea-bird wheeling round it, with the din
Of wings and winds and solitary cries."

We may thus understand the effect of obscurity in heightening the sense of sublimity. In a vast cathedral, where all the details are visible in the light of the morning, the effect of sublimity is much less felt than in the dimness of the closing day, when the arches seem to soar the loftier because their outline shows itself apart from the lighter ornamentation that somewhat lessens their effect. The sea, also, seems sometimes more sublime in the night, when we can only hear the roar of the surf, than it did when it stretched before us in the broad light of day. When its wider expanse is hidden by a mist, and we can see only the line of waves breaking upon the beach, it seems often more sublime than when the sight can follow it to the horizon's edge. The Jungfrau mountain is never so sublime as when its base and its flanks are wrapped with clouds, and the summit alone is seen, looking down upon us almost from the mid-heaven.

It will be noticed that while a certain vagueness may sometimes make the sublime easier of apprehension, this vagueness must always exist in connection with something clearly defined. The imagination always needs a definite stimulus. It is sometimes forgotten that there cannot be even mystery without knowledge. The clearer the knowledge the deeper the mystery which it suggests. The same must be true of that sublimity which springs from mystery. We thus may understand something of the power of music to aid in the production of sublime effects. It is on the one side so sharply defined, and on the other so vague and bound-

less, that it may easily produce an impression of sublimity. It is especially fitted to assist in the production of a feeling of the supernatural, of the presence of something which the imagination cannot picture. In saying this I have had in mind its use in one of Wagner's operas, for instance; or in any case where the supernatural content is vaguely suggested. A like effect may, however, sometimes be produced by the music itself with no suggestion from without, as sometimes in a symphony.

I have wished thus to do justice to the truth there is in the theories that make the formless and the vague elements of the sublime. Under certain circumstances they do make the apprehension of the sublime more easy. They are, however, not the essential conditions of it; and it is, I conceive, wholly a mistake to find in these a distinction between beauty and sublimity. In the first place, the beautiful may be as formless as the sublime. How charming is some mountain cataract with the spray blown into irregular and changing shapes at its feet! How willfully the brook plays along its course! —

“ I slip, I slide, I gloom, I glance
Among my skimming swallows;
I make the netted sunbeams dance
Against my sandy shallows.”

Thus does Tennyson interpret the music of the brook; and the very waywardness and formlessness create its charm.

In the second place the sublime is often, I am inclined to think most often, beautiful. We may take what examples we will, and we find sublimity continually clothing itself in beauty. What could be more sublime, and what could be more beautiful, than the snow mountains of Switzerland? Shall we call the Falls of Niagara sublime or beautiful? Certainly they are both. If there is sublimity anywhere it is there; and yet one often feels the supreme beauty more than the sublimity. Even when one stands at the very foot of the falls by the Cave of the Winds, and is lashed by their spray, and deafened by their roar, even then one feels no less their ethereal beauty; and the circling rainbow in the centre of which one stands seems the natural interpreter of the whole. Never did I feel the sublime to be more beautiful than at my first vision of these falls. It was in the evening, and guided simply by their roar I found myself suddenly looking down upon them. Below, the depths were black in the night, except for the glory of the whiteness and sparkle of the descending waters, while over them hovered a perfect lunar rainbow. In such a presence the

beauty adds to the sublimity. The plunging mass of white foam and spray seems so ethereal in its loveliness that we feel all the more the terrible might of the waters thundering in their fall.

The sense of beauty, as we have seen, springs from our delight in the freedom and perfection of nature; that of sublimity arises from our joy in the freedom and perfection of its strength. The double feeling, that of pain and joy, united or following one another, which is so generally referred to in the discussions of this theme, arises, when it exists, from our sense of the contrast between our insignificance and the strength and the vastness with which we are surrounded. This contrast is most strongly marked where there is some sense of peril, where, as in the case already referred to, one is upon a vessel that seems but a mere shell among the waves which are carrying on their wild sport about it and beneath it. As the boat that seems so little and fragile rises and sinks, rolls and pitches, one may give way to terror. The sense of beauty may, however, be stronger than the terror. One may rejoice in the joy of the elements. To one who has risen above the sense of personal peril, the sea, even at its wildest, is beautiful. It is only our terror that speaks of the angry waters, or can call them, as Kant does, horrible. The strength of the sea, if giving up all thought of danger and safety we put any human emotion into it, can be considered only as a glad strength. In the exaltation which the sense of sublimity brings we enter into this joy. Similar to this is, in all other cases, our relation to the sublime. It may not be physical peril that moves us, the fear of being actually lost and swallowed up among the forces of nature. It may be the sense more or less distinct of the insignificance of our individuality in the presence of the stupendousness of nature. The individual shrinks to nothingness in the comparison. This loss of self-importance naturally is often accompanied by an inward protest. The individual naturally may shrink from suffering himself to be thus lost in the vastness of the universe. Some are unable to get beyond this shrinking which may even assume the form of a vague terror. Where the sense of sublimity is truly felt, however, this shrinking is overcome. It is replaced or accompanied by a joy and an exaltation. To some minds this joy comes without the struggle, though even in this case there is the sense, however little it may be developed into consciousness, of the measureless disparity of which I have spoken. This joy may arise from various aspects of the relation. The sense of the infinite may be aroused as the philosophers have so often affirmed.

There may come, according to the opinion of Kant, a sense of spiritual immensities to which the material immensity is as nothing. Primarily, however, and most simply it is, as it appears on its face, a delight in the manifestation of nature, especially when the measureless force that awes us has clothed itself, as it so often does, in the garment of beauty. We find a like relation, which is easier to understand, in the veneration which is felt towards some noble character. In such veneration there is also the element of awe, but this awe is itself a pleasure, for it introduces us to the contemplation of virtue or genius, delighting in which we forget our own limitations; or else we feel that this superiority to ourselves is the most natural thing in the world, and we glory in this transcending excellence. The philosophers have for the most part been unwilling to believe that there could be anything in nature to excite an awe like this. Explain it as we will, or leave it unexplained, nature does have this power over us. We may say, as I have said, that we have such sympathy with nature that we rejoice in its power and beauty as if they were our own. We may say, perhaps more truly, that it is a sense of the divine life in the world that is about us. However we may explain it, it is the giving up of ourselves to a larger life. This may, indeed, take the form of cynicism, as it does sometimes in the poems of Byron, who seems to rejoice in the littleness of human nature in its pitiful contrast with the sublimities of the external world. In this case, the spirit of the cynic has transcended itself and made itself one with the stupendousness of nature. More often, however, it is the simple, natural, surrender of one's self to that which is unspeakably vaster, and more magnificent. In this mingled awe and exaltation we have one of the most beautiful manifestations of human nature. This self-surrender is in the æsthetic world what self-denial is in the moral world. The experience is in itself a healthful one. There are persons so full of conceit or of self-consciousness that a moment of self-forgetfulness in the joy of what is infinitely above and beyond them would bring, we can but think, a new element of peace and strength into their lives.

Goethe exclaims through the lips of Faust, —

“Das Schaudern ist der Menschheit bestes Theil.”

When Faust said these words he was on the point of descending to the awful presence of the “mothers,” to the region of the formless out from which all forms proceed. The shudder that he felt was the awe of sublimity. We may place the possibility of this at least among the best elements of humanity. It implies the pos-

sibility of a sense of that which infinitely transcends our little human lives, and a joy in this transcendence. It implies the possibility of giving up our self-importance and of a childlike delight in that which is larger and stronger, or in any way more worthy, than ourselves.

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THE FARMER'S ALLIANCE.

THE condition of the farmers of America during the last decade is an element of prime importance in the problem of sociology which, although too much ignored in the past, is now attracting the attention of thoughtful men. The farmer of New England, the Western farmer, and the Southern farmer, while having some things in common, are yet in many respects essentially different.

The second annual report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for North Carolina for 1888 furnishes reliable data which will enable one to form a vivid conception of the character and environment of the Southern farmer. The reports of the State Granges of North Carolina and of the other Southern States, as well as the reports of the National Grange, confirm the statements of the two hundred farmers given in the official report. From these and other trustworthy sources we learn that the average farmer of the South fails to prosper in good years; and in years of drought, or of too much rain, becomes well nigh bankrupt; that he buys on credit, mortgaging his crops at exorbitant rates of interest; that he buys his own food largely, expecting to pay in cotton or some other special crop, giving high prices for everything; that he fails to make barnyard manure, preferring to buy commercial fertilizers which too often prove to be of little value, of too great cost, and a total loss by reason of unfavorable conditions; that he must sell his crop for what dealers choose to pay, and submit to extravagant charges for packing, transportation, and waste; that he is able neither to let his land profitably to tenants, nor to hire efficient help, even at high prices, nor to work his land himself successfully. Hence is it that the average price of lands in North Carolina is only \$6.50 an acre, while the best of farms bring less than \$10; that the 229 representative farmers reported for the

year 1887 an actual loss of three and a half per cent. on their capital.

The thrifty farmer of New England who has had an open eye to foresee the changing conditions of agriculture, by refusing to run into debt and by concentrating his efforts upon some special product whose production and sale he could control, has prospered; but the average New England farmer who has depended upon his farm alone for his livelihood has made but a bare living, and counts himself fortunate if, all things considered, he has not suffered serious losses year after year.

From the report of the Labor Bureau of Connecticut for 1888 we learn that 693 representative farms, valued with their stock and tools at \$3,810,742, produced products valued at \$707,153, but at a cost for hired help, feed, fertilizers, repairs, insurance, taxes, and interest on capital, amounting to \$528,548, leaving a balance of \$178,605 for the remuneration of the 969 males and 796 females belonging to the families of the proprietors who spent their whole time at work upon the farm. Taking no account of the women who actually do a large share of the work, the average reward of the 969 farmers for their work of superintendence and manual labor, was \$184.31 for the year, while we find from the same report that the wages of the average hired man was \$386.36 for the year. Of these 693 farms, 314 are reported as having made a profit, but 378 incurred a loss, while one showed neither profit nor loss. From the same report we learn that the average wages of the operatives in ninety manufacturing establishments of the State was \$441, and of the superintendents and overseers was \$1,052 each, and of the proprietor \$4,943.

Coming now to Massachusetts, whose agriculture will compare favorably with that of the foremost agricultural State in the Union, we find much of which to be proud in the gross returns, but we are disappointed when we ask, What is the share of the average farmer in the net profits of agriculture? When from the value of the gross amount of agricultural products we deduct the cost of the farmer's raw material, wages paid to hired help, taxes, and interest upon his actual capital, we find that the remuneration of the average farmer for his superintendence and for his own manual labor proves to be but \$326.49, while the wages of the average hired farm laborer is \$345.00.

A careful study of New England farming in the light of all points of view, carried on for the past ten years by means of statistical investigation, personal observation during carriage drives

from Canada to Long Island Sound, and from intimate association with all classes of farmers, assures one that the man who cultivates an average farm and depends upon its profits alone for the support of himself and family, if he pay his taxes and his debts, cannot compete with his brothers or attain to their standard of living, who, with equal powers, employ them in other walks of life. There is a tradition that still lingers among the Hampshire hills of old-time agriculturists, called River Gods: they owned fertile acres that included the meadows of the Connecticut river; they raised abundant crops; they sold them at a profit; they deposited their thousands of dollars in the old bank of which they were directors; they lived in ample mansions; they owned the pews on the centre aisle of the first church; the Doctor of Divinity feared to offend them; if he did, he was sent to the wilderness to preach to Indians; the physician treated them with great respect; lawyers and judges accepted their hospitality; merchants depended upon their custom for their business success; they sent their sons to Yale and Harvard; their voice was potent in the legislature; now and then they were heard in Congress; they might, if they chose, seat one of their number in the governor's chair. In those days the farmers of New England were the dominant class in society; since then there has been a change. When the average farmer of New England receives for his wages of superintendence and manual labor combined less than the average mill hand, and less, even, than his own hired man, is it strange that he offers to sell his farm for less than the cost of the buildings and, failing in that, abandons the old homestead?

The decadence of the New England farmer has been attributed to the development of Western farms. The growth of the agriculture of the great West has been marvelous. Why is it, then, that there comes to our ears such a cry from the prairies and the slopes of the Rocky Mountains? Why is it that the farmers of the West, after having impoverished the English farmer and the New England farmer by glutting the markets of the world with bread and meat, now laments his own sad lot? The causes are many and of long continuance. Among these one cause is especially worthy of notice.

The city and the country form two non-competitive groups. The city demands country produce: the country demands city products. The farmer trades provisions and raw material for manufactures and for money. The manufactures and the money which are the stock in trade of the city, are commodities which are easily

controlled by their owners, who, readily combining among themselves, can sell or hoard very much as they please; they sell when they choose to sell, and succeed to a greater or less extent in fixing their prices. The provisions and raw material, on the other hand, which are the stock in trade of the country, are commodities which the farmers are compelled to throw upon the market all at once in the fall of the year and sell at any price the city chooses to pay. The farmer must sell; he cannot help himself. The cotton and tobacco of the Southern farmer are already mortgaged, and the money lender takes the crop as a matter of course. If there should be a few who have not mortgaged the crop, they are nevertheless in debt, and these debts must be paid. The Western farmer cannot keep his wheat, corn, and oats, his poultry, beef, and pork. He has no facilities for storage. As a consequence every fall thousands of millions of dollars worth of agricultural produce is thrown upon the market, enough to supply all home demand and leave a surplus of the value of \$500,000,000 for export. The American farmer, then, North, South, East, and West, is forced year after year to sell to the city his products when the market is glutted and prices are lowest. He sells at the greatest disadvantage. This, of course, leads us to infer that, when he buys, he buys at a great disadvantage. The farmer must have money to pay his taxes and his interest in the fall, but that is the very time when money, being a commodity in great demand, is very scarce and very high. With his produce forced down to the lowest price he is forced to buy money that is up to the very highest price. Again, in the spring the farmer is forced to buy seed and fertilizers, and agricultural implements and labor: he has no money with which to pay for them, although then money is cheap. He pays for them with his note or gets trusted for them. Under such circumstances the seller has the advantage, and the farmer is forced to pay the highest price for all that he gets. So it has come to pass that year after year, spring time and autumn, the farmer sells cheap and buys dear, and buys dear and sells cheap.

At this point we see another circumstance that affects the result. A New England boy leaves his mountain home and takes up a farm in the West. He borrows money of an Eastern capitalist and stocks his farm. He works it for ten years, selling his crops for what he can get. He pays his interest, but finds that he has lost \$100 a year by being forced to sell cheap and buy dear. Nevertheless a village springs up near him, it develops

into a city. As a consequence his land increases in value. He sells building lots. He pays his debts and losses occasioned by selling his crops for less than they cost, and finds himself possessed of a little fortune. Such instances have not been rare. Such fortunate ones have drawn prizes in the lottery, and their exceptional success has stimulated the multitude to run into debt deeper and deeper, to add mortgage to mortgage, in the hope that they would be able to hold out until the unearned increment in the value of land should reimburse them for their losses and make their fortune. But the average farmer has been disappointed in the expected rise in value, or just as it is about to come finds that the inhabitant of the city has foreclosed the mortgage, taking with the farm the future unearned increment, leaving him nothing but the labor and the loss, after having involved the Eastern farmer in his own impoverishment.

One other circumstance is worthy of notice as it affects the result. We are told by men who claim good authority for their statements, that 250,000 persons control seventy-five to eighty per cent. of the national wealth; that the three per cent. of the population, who own seventy-five per cent. of the wealth, pay but twenty-seven per cent. of the taxes, while the ninety-seven per cent. of the population who own but twenty-five per cent. of the wealth, pay seventy-three per cent. of the expenses of the government. Quarrel with these particular figures as we may, the indisputable fact still remains that the farmer pays taxes, direct and indirect, on himself and all that he possesses of both personal property and real estate, and on the property also of others, which he has borrowed, at rates assessed upon the highest possible valuation, in many cases far exceeding its true value.

Our survey thus far, shows us that the American farmer, in the South, in New England, and in the West, owing to changing conditions, has not been able to hold his own in the competition between the city and the country. The farmer sells perishable provisions and raw material to the inhabitant of the city, when the market is glutted and perishable provisions and raw material are cheap, in exchange for manufactured goods and money when these are scarce and dear; while, on the other hand, the inhabitant of the city sells money and manufactured goods to the farmer in his need, when manufactured goods and money are comparatively scarce and at the highest price, in exchange for provisions and raw material when these farm products have glutted the market. With such conditions, continued year after year, it is not

strange that the city should grow richer and richer and more populous and crowded, while the country grows poorer and poorer and one farm-house after another is abandoned, that city tenements may be raised story after story and sunk deeper and deeper in the earth. Especially are we not surprised at this movement when we find that the city is the place where the burdens of taxation diminish in proportion to the benefits enjoyed, while in the country the benefits enjoyed diminish as the burdens of taxation become more and more crushing. It is an acknowledged fact that the great wealth of city fortunes easily evades taxation and contributes only so much as the owners choose to appropriate, with the expectation of collecting in the end from some one else.

As the American farmer has seen wealth and population concentrated in the city, he has at the same time discovered that political power has been slipping from his grasp. Before and during the war the nation turned from the perusal of the election returns of New York city to wait for the majorities that should roll up from the counties west of the Hudson; but now the vote of the metropolis settles the election. Once the public opinion of the farmer was a power in legislature and in Congress, but now the city supports a lobby at every State capitol and at Washington, which says to the constituents from the rural districts, Thus far and no farther! When every professional lobbyist is the hired man of the city, and many lawyers of influence within or without the legislative body have a retaining fee of hundreds or of thousands in their pockets, the farmer has little chance of getting his bill safely past the cordon of the opposition. The landed aristocracy of Great Britain for a long time kept their preëminence by seeing to it that the common people should have no great leader. As soon as one of their number became a power in the House of Commons, he was at once ennobled and buried in the House of Lords, where he was henceforth harmless. So during the past generation, as soon as a farmer has risen to power and influence among his fellows, he has been courted and enriched, made a stockholder in the great corporation, given a city residence, and so led at length to forget the old homestead and his brothers and sisters struggling with fate in the back districts.

According to the census of 1880, of the eighteen millions of bread-winners of the nation, in round numbers, eight millions were farmers, four millions were engaged in manufactures, four millions in professional and personal services, and two millions in trade and transportation. Since the days of the famous report of Alex-

ander Hamilton on Manufactures, the interests of the three latter classes have been well protected by national and state legislation. The factory, the railroad, and the counting-house have never been neglected by the nation. The professional man and those rendering personal service have been fully able to take care of themselves. The lawyer on the one hand, and the servant girl on the other, cannot be easily oppressed. If it were not so, the factory, the railroad, and the counting-house would take good care of the professional man and those engaged in personal service. A hundred years ago the farmer was dominant. Agriculture was strong, and manufactures were infant industries to be nourished. Now the infant has nothing to fear from the competition of the farmer. Agriculture is still the important interest of the nation, but its very success has brought distress to the agriculturist, because the producer has been forced to exchange his products on disadvantageous terms with the other groups of exchangers. The manufacturing, the professional, the trading classes have, as a rule, concentrated in the cities; their interests have for the most part been in common; they have easily combined; they have acquired the wealth of the nation; they have the press in their hands; they control the school, the college, and the church; they are dominant in the caucus, the political convention, the State and National legislature. When their interests come in conflict with that of the farmers, it requires little thought to discern which has of late years prevailed. One might speak of the rapid increase of tenant farming, of the numbers of alien landlords already counting their thousands of acres, of the vast tracts of land voted to railroad and other corporations, of the multiplication of mortgages, of the growth of the debtor class among agriculturists, of the condition of the black farmers of the South, of the importation of European peasants to take the abandoned farms of New England, but it is hardly necessary. The fact is already too manifest that the American farmer at the close of the nineteenth century, after a hundred years of republican government, is directly confronted with the question, Whether or no he shall, like the tillers of the soil in the Old World, degenerate from his honorable station to the condition of the serf?

The answer to this question must in the end be given by the farmers of America to and for themselves. They must work out their own salvation with fear and trembling. The other classes of society have more than enough to do in looking after their own interests. The latter evidently believe, and will continue for

some time, at least, to believe, in that law of competition, which, while permitting them to combine among themselves for special purposes, insists that, in their dealings with the agricultural classes, they shall persist in giving the least they must in exchange for all they can get.

Are the farmers of America capable of meeting this crisis successfully? As a class they are proverbially conservative and patient as the lowing oxen, but when once aroused they have always shown themselves masters of the situation. Have we not heard of "embattled farmers" who "fired the shot heard round the world?" Was George Washington a farmer who looked after his farm so carefully that he could afford to serve his country without salary? Were there any farmers in the armies of blue and of gray that fought out to the bitter end the war of the rebellion? Have they any bone and sinew and brains? Do they know anything of the town meeting and of self-government? Do they love their homes and the altars of their fathers? Have they any rights in the soil and the institutions of America which a politician is bound to respect? If worst should come to the worst, it would soon be found that the advantages are not all on the side of the city.

In the first place, nearly one half of all the bread-winners of America are farmers. In the second place, while of those engaged in trade and in professional services one third are of foreign birth, and of those engaged in manufactures one half are of foreign birth, of those engaged in agriculture seven out of eight are American born. The farmers of the nation are Americans born and bred, with the American spirit inwrought into the molecules of heart and brain. In the third place, they have not been enervated by the close air and conventionalities and luxuries of the city. Granting that the country is indebted to the city, it is nevertheless indisputable that the city is absolutely dependent for its very existence upon the country. Deprive the city of the food, the raw material, the unpurverted manhood which the farmers supply with liberality, and the boasted civilization of the metropolis of to-day would perish, as fell Jerusalem besieged by the Romans, as Paris fell sacked by the Commune.

There is one marked characteristic of the American farmer: give him time and he will adjust himself admirably to changes of environing conditions. He is at home in Texas and California and Utah, as well as in Massachusetts and New York.

The farmer is slowly learning the secret of organization, a

lesson somewhat difficult for one with his striking originality and dominant individuality to master. When Washington took command of the Continental Army at Cambridge, he found a town meeting of self-directed voters with muskets in their hands, each one ready to take Boston all alone. With patience the commander-in-chief taught these self-sufficient individuals how to serve in the ranks and keep step: when the lesson was learned the city fell at once into their possession.

More than twenty-one years ago a clerk in the Agricultural Department at Washington started out on a missionary tour to teach the farmers of America to organize for the protection of their interests. He assumed a difficult task. He met with rebuff after rebuff, and failure after failure, but at length his efforts were crowned with success. A million farmers were enrolled. Like all great movements the flood tide was followed by the ebb. But the idea of organization and coöperation among farmers, once broached, could not be eradicated from the descendants of those who organized the colonies, and by means of committees of correspondence united North and South in a determined effort to defend their rights. The Grange once established, maintains itself to this day, and has proved a powerful instrument in bringing isolated farmers and their families together, developing united action, promoting education, and making the farmers of the North, South, East, and West perceive that the interest of one is the interest of all, and, better still, that the interest of all is the best interest of each. Of late years the Grange, composed of the more prosperous farmers, has been very conservative, keeping out of politics and devoting itself principally to social and educational interests.

But now, when the idea of organization has taken such complete possession of the public mind, the Grange has been followed by a new and more aggressive organization, calling itself The National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union.

It is composed of agriculturists, of sixteen years of age or more, without distinction of sex. Its associations cannot be organized in incorporated cities. Farm laborers, mechanics, country doctors, preachers, and teachers, who believe in the existence of a Supreme Being, are admitted. Middlemen, bankers, lawyers, city doctors, preachers, and teachers, and some others are excluded from membership. Amateur farmers are not received. As a national organization its origin dates from the consolidation at St. Louis, October, 1889, of the National Farmers' Alliance and

Coöperative Union of America with the National Agricultural Wheel.

As under certain conditions of the atmosphere in a hot summer day one has observed a storm gathering at the north, and over against it a cloud at the south, and also one in the east and another at the west, and then, while running for shelter, has seen them all rush swiftly together, that with thunder and lightning and rain and hail and tempest they might smite the mountain and the lake; so it would seem that the Texan farmers, with their spirited temper, have rallied the men of the South, while the fearless sons of the Northwest, by no means discouraged after their former struggle with railroad corporations, have united the discontented tillers of Kansas soil with the fruit-growers and milkmen both sides of the Hudson, and so, coming together at St. Louis, to use a pregnant phrase of the day, have determined to "pool their issues." They claim to represent something like a million of men. They allege that they have an understanding with the Knights of Labor. They feel sure of the sympathy of the Grange. And, as not a few of them are old soldiers, they do not wholly despair of the help of the Grand Army. The politicians of many of the Southern States fear lest the solid South may be rent in twain. The political leaders of some Northern districts are somewhat timid, even Massachusetts cannot forget the record of its parties on the Oleo. question. It is said, even, that at Washington both parties are not a little alarmed lest the unexpected at no distant day may happen.

The headquarters of the Alliance is established at Washington. Its president is Col. L. L. Polk, of Raleigh, N. C., a man reared on a farm, a member of the legislature in 1860, a soldier who served with distinction during the war, again member of his State legislature in 1865, and afterwards delegate to the State Constitutional Convention. In 1877 he was appointed Commissioner of Agriculture. Since 1886 he has published the "Progressive Farmer," a leading agricultural paper in the South. The vice-president is B. H. Clover, of Kansas, and the secretary is J. H. Turner, of Georgia. The official organ, "The National Economist," is published weekly, and advocates with force the principles and measures of the order. The secretary writes from Washington to the writer of this paper: "We are at work in the interest of the American farmer. . . . We are not here in the capacity of lobbyist, but we are here to gather information that we may be able to educate our people on the great economic questions of the day,

that they may become intelligent American citizens and voters. Our organization is strictly non-partisan. We are not working for the supremacy of any party, but to purify all parties. We have men in our organization belonging to all the political parties, and we move right along on these great questions without the least friction."

The Alliance has succeeded in securing a strong organization of its own members, so as to efficiently promote social, business, and educational ends. The separate States have coöperative business associations for buying and selling, each of which has done a large and profitable business. The usual benevolent ends of such brotherhoods are provided for. An Alliance Insurance Company has been established for the benefit of members of the order. The subordinate bodies are established on the principle of local self-government. These are united into the State Alliance on the representative principle, and the State Alliances are joined in the same manner into the National Alliance. On the other hand the secret work of the organization emanates from the central body to all the various state and local bodies. Thus by a centripetal as well as centrifugal force is the stability of the complex organism secured. One very important characteristic of the organization is that it ignores sectionalism, and unites all parts of the nation in one fraternity; another equally important characteristic is that it ignores party lines. It is a farmer's organization, called into being and maintained by the force of circumstances for the one vital purpose of defending the rights and liberties of the tillers of the soil, which have not only been seriously threatened, but have already been attacked, by the other great classes of society, acting severally and unitedly, as against the farmer, in accordance with the law of competition which requires them, in all the transactions of life, to get the most they can and give the least they must. If the law of competition is good for the manufacturer and the banker, for the railroads and the stock exchange, for the professional man and the mechanic, it must be good also for the farmer. If combination is good for the city, it is good also for the country. If it is an established principle of the nation that all legislation at the State capital and at Washington is in behalf of those interests that bring the most pressure upon the legislators, the executive officers, and the politicians, and that the great interests of the public in the strife of different localities and classes are unrepresented and ignored, then the long-suffering agriculturists of the land have come to the conclusion to try what they can do

by following the example of the railroad men, of the iron men, of the silver men, of the capitalists, of the laboring men. What is fair for one is fair for another. If the ten millions of farmers should succeed in massing their forces and march, keeping step all the way, their momentum would certainly move something.

The constitution of the Alliance, adopted at St. Louis last October, contains the following : —

“DECLARATION OF PURPOSES.

“Whereas the general condition of our country imperatively demands unity of action on the part of the laboring classes, reformation in economy, and the dissemination of principles best calculated to encourage and foster agricultural and mechanical pursuits, encouraging the toiling masses — leading them in the road to prosperity, and providing a just and fair remuneration for labor, a just exchange for our commodities and the best means of securing to the laboring classes the greatest amount of good ; we hold to the principle that all monopolies are dangerous to the best interests of our country, tending to enslave a free people and subvert and finally overthrow the great principles purchased by the fathers of American liberty. We therefore adopt the following as our declaration of principles : —

“1. To labor for the education of the agricultural classes in the science of economical government, in a strictly non-partisan spirit, and to bring about a more perfect union of said classes.

“2. That we demand equal rights to all and special favors to none.

“3. To indorse the motto, ‘In things essential, unity ; and in all things charity.’

“4. To develop a better state mentally, morally, socially, and financially.

“5. To constantly strive to secure entire harmony and good will to all mankind and brotherly love among ourselves.

“6. To suppress personal, local, sectional, and national prejudices ; all unhealthful rivalry and all selfish ambition.

“7. The brightest jewels which it garners are the tears of the widows and orphans, and its imperative commands are to visit the homes where lacerated hearts are bleeding ; to assuage the sufferings of a brother or sister, bury the dead, care for the widows, and educate the orphans ; to exercise charity toward offenders ; to construe words and deeds in their most favorable light, granting honesty of purpose and good intentions to others, and to protect the principles of the Farmers’ Alliance and Industrial Union until death. Its laws are reason and equity, its cardinal doctrines inspire purity of thought and life, its intention is, ‘On earth, peace, and good will toward men.’”

To find fault with this declaration of purposes is not easy. To

criticise some of the particular measures which they are advocating to secure these ends is not so difficult. The Sub-Treasury Plan, so-called, the demand for the free coinage of silver, the abolition of national banks, and the substitution of legal tender treasury notes instead of national bank notes, the prohibition of gambling in stocks, the prohibition of alien ownership of land, the issue of fractional currency, the ownership and operation of the means of communication and transportation by the national government, seem to many nothing less than absurd, foolish, wicked, and revolutionary. Very well: the bar of public opinion is open. Let those questions be freely and fairly discussed. If they are as alleged, their true nature can easily be shown and they will never become accepted. But if these measures are rejected, then it becomes the true statesman to devise some other methods and measures by which the farmers of America may be saved from the fate of the agricultural classes of other lands and of other ages.

Some things are very certain. The concentration of the wealth of the nation in the hands of a few has been carried far enough. An equitable distribution of the income of American industry among the bread-winners is the problem of the age. Our professional classes must realize the truth that their duty is to serve the State and to promote the general welfare, irrespective of the amount of the fee. Every little town, every little ward of the city, every corporation, great or small, has its representative in our legislative bodies. Money is lavished without stint in the lobby. In our courts a poor man has little hope of receiving justice, when his interest conflicts with those of powerful corporations. Particular interests are looked after, a scrimmage for spoils often takes place, "log rolling" secures results; but in the meanwhile the people, without distinction of parties, classes, and sections, are unrepresented and their highest welfare ignored.

If the farmers' movement shall succeed in turning the public opinion of the nation to the necessity of "demanding equal rights for all and special favors for none," and of "suppressing personal, local, sectional, and national prejudices," it will atone for many mistakes and prove itself to be one of the great developments of a people's life. With the farmers of America assured of the permanence of their homes, secure of their future, making progress mentally, morally, socially, and financially, the cities of our land will have a normal development, the other classes of society will be prosperous, our republican institutions will be maintained, and the whole world will be blessed. Let the farmers of America

become tenants at will, or peasants, or serfs, then with the sinking foundation the whole superstructure of our government must fall into ruin. Here, then, is the opportunity of the century for the man of the people, the true leader, the genuine statesman, to turn from the petty strife after spoils and political preferment, that he may comprehend this movement, discover its dangers, prevent disaster, restrain and guide, until the goal of assured victory is gained. A hundred years ago our fathers met and solved the problems of the new government. Degenerate sons of noble ancestry must we be, if we prove insufficient for the task of our day.

C. S. Walker.

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TREATMENT OF MEN IN THE UNITED STATES NAVY.¹

WHEN a man wishes to enlist in the navy he offers himself for service on board a cruising man-of-war, or on board what is called the "Receiving Ship," which is permanently moored at each of our principal navy-yards. The man may be enlisted for five years, but the custom of the Navy Department is to enlist him for three years. Servants and special service men enlist for the cruise; that is, until the ship goes out of commission.

After passing a rigid physical examination, "The Shipping Articles," as they are called, are read aloud and carefully explained to the recruit, who signs them in the presence of a commissioned officer. The officer also signs as a witness. These articles (a copy is appended) contain the agreement between the recruit and the commanding officer who represents the government. Immediately after signing, the recruit shifts into uniform, which is charged to his account, and his education as a man-of-war's man begins.

He remains on board the Receiving Ship until his services are required on a cruising man-of-war. Upon reaching the ship to which he is assigned for duty, he is provided with a memorandum of his watch, station, and quarter bill. This memorandum will

¹ This article does not refer to the Apprentices System of the Navy.

A. V. W.

inform him in regard to the number of his watch and mess ; what division of guns and boat he belongs to ; where he is stationed in case of fire and to clear ship for action ; what he must do at the call "All hands abandon ship;" and, if the ship has masts and sails, his every duty in regard to handling them will be defined.

A man-of-war's man's education is, in many particulars, as different to-day from what it was a few years ago, as are the ships of to-day from those which Farragut commanded. The man-of-war's man of to-day is a specialist. He is a trained warrior, as well as a sailor. He must not only know how to reef, furl, and steer, as of old, but he must be a trained artillerist; he must also know how to handle torpedoes, and understand the use of small-arms, the rifle, revolver, and sword, not to mention the specially educated electricians and mechanics that are necessary on board every modern man-of-war.

To educate men for the duties required of them in our new ships is not an easy task. A glance at the daily routine of a cruising ship will give one an idea how this is accomplished, and will show what treatment the men are subjected to during their education.

The daily routine of a man-of-war while in port varies somewhat from the sea routine, but not enough to be taken into consideration. When in port the crew is called at an early hour; frequently at "early daylight." In ten minutes the hammocks are stowed in the nettings on deck, when coffee is served for twenty minutes, during which time the men are allowed to smoke. At the expiration of the half hour the order is, "Out pipes and turn to!" and the work of the day commences. Until about eight o'clock every one is busy cleaning the ship, inside and out, for it is true on board ship, if nowhere else, that "cleanliness is next to godliness." At seven o'clock the men who have been on watch during the night are turned out, and the servants are inspected by the master-at-arms, the chief petty officer of the ship. At eight o'clock the colors are set. While the flag is being run up, every one on deck faces aft and uncovers, and the sentries present arms. Breakfast is piped as the bell strikes eight; three quarters of an hour is allowed for this meal, when it is, "Turn to and clear up the decks for quarters!"

The officers and men are generally called to quarters — their stations during battle — by the beat of the drum at half past nine in the morning and at sundown. After muster and inspection

tion by the officers, to see that the men are clean and neatly dressed, the drill of the forenoon is carried on.

Every day, except Saturday and Sunday, there is a different drill. Each division is assigned either great guns, torpedoes, machine guns, sword exercise, revolvers, or infantry, for the men must know how to fight on shore as well as on board. Fire quarters are liable to be sounded at any time, day or night. Boat drill will take place on certain days; clear ship for action on others; and at any time the order may be, "All hands abandon ship!" when the boats will be lowered and provisioned, and the officers and men will be mustered at their stations for such an emergency. The crew is also instructed what to do in case of a collision, and what they must do if surprised at night by an enemy. At all of these drills each officer wishes his division to excel, the men are readily interested, and competition constantly prevails throughout the ship.

The forenoon is soon passed. Dinner is inspected at seven bells (11.30) by the officer of the deck, the ship's cook bringing a sample to the mast, and the men who are to go on watch at twelve get their dinner. At noon dinner is piped. At one o'clock the men "turn to" again for drill, and special instructions for the green hands.

There is always some special work to be done, and after drill in the morning and afternoon, "hands from each part of the ship" are detailed to carry it on. As soon as the drills and special work are finished, "the smoking lamp," the lamp for lighting pipes, is lighted, and the men smoke and amuse themselves as they please.

Supper is served about five o'clock for half an hour, after which the decks are cleared up and evening muster at quarters takes place. After quarters until sundown the men again find their own pleasure with a freedom that is always surprising to those who are not familiar with life on board our men-of-war.

At sundown the colors are hauled down, the same ceremony being observed as at eight in the morning, and it is, "All hands stand by your hammocks!" In a few moments every man is on deck ready to receive his "dream bag." Chaplains are assigned to flagships, and occasionally to other ships. If there is one on board, he is informed when all hands are called to stand by their hammocks. As soon as the men are reported up, the order is, "Silence fore and aft!" Weather and other circumstances permitting, prayer is offered, the men and officers of the watch standing with uncovered heads. "Pipe down!" quickly follows the

amen; the hammocks are served out, each man hurries to his berth and hangs his hammock in place. After hammocks are piped down until nine o'clock is the special time for the men's enjoyment. This time might be called the sailors' hours. If there are musical instruments on board, and there is sure to be at least an accordion, — "an in-and-out-igger," as it is called by the sailors, — some will be dancing, some singing, others reading and writing; the minstrel and theatrical troops, if organized, will be rehearsing, and the "Holy Joes," as they are called, if there are any on board, will gather at the place assigned them for their prayer and temperance meetings. At nine tattoo is sounded. The boatswain and his mates pipe down. All hands, except the quartermaster, a petty officer, the detail called "the anchor watch," and the sentries, turn in. The bugler sounds the call "Out lights!" and all noise ceases in the men's quarters.

The daily routine, of which the foregoing is a brief sketch, is varied from day to day by the many and interesting drills already mentioned that belong to a man-of-war. Saturday and Sunday are the only exceptions. On Saturday morning special pains is taken in holystoning the decks that there may be but little to do on Sunday morning. Saturday is also "mending day," and after morning inspection the men are allowed to have their clothes and sewing gear about the decks most of the day. Many of the men make their own uniforms instead of drawing them from the Government.

On Sunday, as far as possible, the day is observed as a rest day. It is no longer the rule in our navy, —

"Six days shalt thou labor and do all thou art able,
On the seventh, holystone decks and scour the cable."

During the morning watch the decks are wiped up, as may be necessary, and everything is in place before ten o'clock, when all hands are inspected at quarters by the captain. The men are in their best clothes, with honor medals and good-conduct badges on the breast of every man who is so fortunate as to possess them. The officers are in the uniform of the day, and after they have formed their divisions in two ranks the captain passes between them and inspects each man, with words of praise here and there, or, if necessary, points out what is amiss.

As soon as the inspection is finished, "retreat" is sounded by the drummer, the men leave their quarters, and the order is, "Rig church." This is easily done. The small table from the

cabin is used as a desk, and the chairs and benches are arranged for the officers and men. When all is ready, the ship's bell is tolled, and the colors are lowered sufficiently to allow the church pennant, a white pennant with a blue cross, to be hoisted over them. Nothing but the church pennant, the cross, is ever hoisted above the Stars and Stripes.

The Second Article for the Government of the Navy is as follows: "The commanders of vessels and naval stations to which chaplains are attached shall cause divine service to be performed on Sunday whenever the weather and other circumstances allow it to be done; and it is earnestly recommended to all officers, seamen, and others in the naval service, diligently to attend at every performance of the worship of Almighty God."

The Third Article is: "Any irreverent or unbecoming behavior during divine service shall be punished as a general or summary court-martial shall direct." The attendance at divine service is voluntary for all on board. But the men are sometimes persuaded to come aft to service in a way they do not forget. A story is told of a captain, who, finding that only a few men came aft for the first Sunday service, called all hands to muster. Every one in the ship is obliged to answer the call to muster. The officers gather on one side of the deck, the men on the other. At the time referred to, as soon as all hands were "up and aft," the captain said, "I have called all hands to say that the Articles for the Government of the Navy, as you well know from hearing them read the first Sunday of every month, require the commanding officer to have divine service performed on Sunday if there is a chaplain on board. We have a chaplain on board, and the regulations must be obeyed. I do not know what any of you believe, but what the chaplain has to say will not hurt you." Turning to the chaplain, the captain said, "Chaplain, are you ready?" "Yes, sir," was the reply. "Heave ahead, sir!" was the order, which was readily obeyed, and thereafter there was always a good attendance at divine service.

In our own ports and in many foreign ports there are found many kindly disposed persons who come on board and ask permission to hold service. All denominations are welcomed, and often the men are sorely tried by those who have "zeal without knowledge," but who believe they are "called to preach the gospel." Among those so "called" one never finds an Antonio of Padua. At least it is not recorded that the fish ever rose to the surface of the sea to listen to them. The good people throughout the world

who are anxious for the conversion of sailors often forget that the best preaching is none too good for them.

Every inducement that the laws allow is held out to our men-of-war's men "to make them feel that our ships of war are their homes, and to make it appear to them that their interests will be well cared for while they remain in the navy." Such are the instructions of the Navy Regulations for the commanding officers.

When a ship's company is received on board a ship going into commission, all hands are rated as first class, and the advantages of remaining in that class are fully explained. As the cruise progresses the second, third, and fourth classes are formed, and reductions and promotions are made as may be necessary for the discipline of the men. The regulations read: "The requisite requirements for first class conduct men are as follows: strict attention to duty; implicit and ready obedience to orders, sobriety, alacrity, courageous conduct, neatness of person and dress, quiet and respectful demeanor, and general usefulness." As high as this standard is, it is estimated that nearly three fourths of the men in the navy are in the first class! At the discretion of the captain the first class men are permitted to draw one third of their monthly pay when in port, and are frequently given liberty for twenty-four hours; in fact, every reasonable request is granted them. A second class man is allowed twenty-four hours liberty once a month, and one fourth of his pay. A third class man has liberty for twenty-four hours every six weeks, and one fifth of his month's pay. A fourth class man draws one fifth of his pay, and is granted twenty-four hours' liberty once in two months.

In every crew there are careless and sometimes vicious men, who must be disciplined. The laws and regulations governing the navy prescribe the punishments that the commanding officer may inflict. They are: "Reduction of any rating established by himself" (a reduction of rate means less pay and fewer privileges). "Confinement, with or without irons, single or double, not exceeding ten days, unless further confinement be necessary in the case of a person to be tried by court-martial. Solitary confinement, on bread and water, not exceeding five days; solitary confinement not exceeding seven days. Extra duties. Deprivation of liberty on shore." The captain can quarantine a bad character for three months.

The cells in which men are placed for solitary confinement are "not less than six and a half feet long and three and a half feet broad, with the full height between decks, and are to be properly

ventilated.”¹ The use of irons is avoided as much as possible. They are placed around the ankles, allowing the prisoner to take a short step, and around the wrists. If a man’s punishment is single irons, they are put on his wrists or ankles ; if double irons, they are around both. Care is taken that they do not hurt the man. The regulations require the senior medical officer to make frequent inspections of the prisoners, and his recommendations in regard to their health are invariably acted on.

When reports against the men are made, unless they are very serious, they are not investigated until the following morning. On Sundays punishments are not inflicted ; and all punishments, except those of confinement and sentences of courts-martial, are suspended on that day. At the hour appointed for investigating reports, the captain, the executive officer, the accuser and the accused, the witnesses, and the master-at-arms, who has charge of all prisoners, are assembled. All concerned are given an impartial hearing ; hasty reports are discouraged ; a man’s character and previous conduct are always taken into consideration, and first offenses, when not of a grave nature, are generally considered leniently.

The more serious offenses are referred to a summary or general court-martial. “A summary court may sentence a man to be discharged from the service in our own ports with a bad conduct discharge ; to solitary confinement for thirty days, in single or double irons, on bread and water with full rations every sixth day ; to solitary confinement in irons, single or double, on full rations, for thirty days ; to confinement without irons not exceeding two months ; reduction to next inferior rating. Extra duties and loss of pay not to exceed three months may be added to any of the above punishments.”

“The punishment of death, or such other punishment as a general court-martial may adjudge, may be inflicted on any person in the naval service who makes or attempts to make a mutiny, or unites with any mutinous assembly, or does not do his utmost to suppress it, or knowing of any mutiny does not report it to his superior officer ; or disobeys the lawful orders of his superior officer ; or strikes or assaults his superior officer ; or, in time of war, deserts or entices others to desert ; or sleeps upon his watch ; or leaves his station before being regularly relieved.”² The punishment of death has not been adjudged by a naval court-martial

¹ Navy Regulations.

² Articles for the Government of the Navy.

since the Mexican War, when a man was hung at the yard-arm for striking an officer.

At the expiration of a man's three years' enlistment, if he obtain a general average of four — the men are marked on their conduct, proficiency, etc. — he is entitled to an "Honorable Discharge and Continuous Service Certificate." "Any man holding such discharge who enlists for three years, within three months from the date of his last discharge, shall receive an increase of one dollar per month to the pay prescribed for the rating in which he serves, for each consecutive reenlistment in addition to the 'honorable discharge money.'"¹ "The honorable discharge money" is three months' pay of the rate which the man held when discharged, to which he is entitled if he reenlists within three months. Servants and others who ship for the cruise (they are called special service men), and the men who do not reach the required standard, are given what is called "a Small Discharge." This carries no special benefits, but the worthy servants and other worthy men are furnished with such recommendations as invariably secure them employment in other ships.

"Any enlisted man holding a continuous-service certificate, who is distinguished for obedience and sobriety and is proficient in seamanship or gunnery, shall receive upon the expiration of his enlistment, a good conduct badge; after he has received three such badges under three consecutive reenlistments, within three months from date of his discharge, he shall, if qualified, be enlisted as a petty officer, and shall not be reduced to a lower rating except by sentence of a court-martial."²

"If a petty officer or person of inferior rating, entitled to wear a good conduct badge, commits an offense for which the commanding officer considers that he should be punished by the forfeiture of one or more badges, with the privileges attached thereto, such offense is to be inquired into by a board of not less than three officers, appointed by the commanding officer, and the offender may be deprived of one or more such badges, with the accompanying privileges, in accordance with the finding of the board, if such finding is approved by the convening authority. By subsequent very good conduct during one year, on recommendation of his commanding officer, the offender may be granted one good conduct badge; and the other badges and privileges of which he may have been deprived, may be reconferred by subsequent ser-

¹ General Order No. 327.

² Navy Regulations.

vice of one year between the bestowal of each badge; provided that his conduct has been very good during the interval."¹

The badges are presented to the men at the expiration of their enlistments at general muster by the captain, who calls the men to the front, and in the presence of all hands congratulates them upon the high standard they must have reached to be entitled to them.

A more impressive ceremony is that of presenting a man with a Medal of Honor. By act of Congress medals of honor are bestowed upon enlisted men of all rates and classes who distinguish themselves in battle, or exhibit extraordinary heroism in the line of their profession. The medals are of bronze, with the words "For Valor" on the obverse, and the man's name and inscription in reference to his heroism on the reverse. A presentation of a medal of honor is one of the most interesting incidents seen on board a man-of-war. All hands are called. The recipient steps to the front, the captain relates the incident which entitles the man to the medal, reads the order of the Navy Department bestowing it, and with the heartiest words of congratulation pins the medal upon the breast of the man of honor. It is a simple ceremony, but it means very much. The man understands that he is receiving a decoration that no officer can receive whatever may be his rank or service.

Mention has been made of evening prayers just before hammocks are piped down. This is not always the custom. Sometimes prayers are offered at morning quarters, and in some ships not at all except at service on Sundays. Sunday service is often conducted by the commanding or other officers when a chaplain is not attached to the ship. The men are frequently allowed to attend church on shore.

The Christian men in the navy are not many, but they are greatly respected. Their comrades generally call them "Holy Joes," but any man, who is *in earnest* and anxious to lend a helping hand to his shipmates, will find encouragement from the officers and men, and will exert an influence in direct ratio to his earnestness. The Christian man-of-war's man, associating, as he must, intimately with all hands, is truly an "epistle known and read of all men." One can almost read his thoughts. If he wishes to gather his comrades about him in a Bible-class, or for prayer or temperance meeting, a place is assigned them where they are not disturbed. The earnest man is found constantly en-

¹ Regulation Circular No. 15.

gaged in "divine service" for the sick or any one who needs assistance; he takes great interest in the drills, is among the first to answer an emergency call, and he scrubs the paint-work carefully.

The number of men allowed by law to be enlisted in the navy at any one time is 8,250, which number includes 750 apprentices and boys. On the first of July, 1890, there were 7,447 men and apprentices enlisted, of whom 1,500 were continuous-service men; 3,498 were native born; 3,949 of foreign birth, and 862 naturalized, making 4,360 American citizens in the navy.

During the year ending June, 1890, 4,734 men and apprentices were enlisted; 3,487 discharged; there were 68 deaths, and 1,009 desertions. The very large majority of the men who desert are foreigners, who are held by nothing but their contract of enlistment and are bound by no ties of birth or allegiance.

The inducements for men to remain in the navy are not many. Men who have twenty years' continuous service are given their choice of stations as far as possible, and besides the inducements already mentioned in regard to reenlistments and those provided for in the Shipping Articles for the men whose terms expire on a foreign station, there has been, by a late act of Congress, a provision made for the men in regard to their savings. By that act a man may deposit his pay with the paymaster in sums not less than five dollars, for which he receives four per cent. interest during his enlistment. Money so deposited cannot be forfeited by sentence of a court-martial, but is forfeited by desertion.

A man's pay is small, smaller than he would get in the merchant marine, — ranging from sixteen dollars to thirty-five, and for the mechanics as high as seventy dollars, a month. He must pay for his uniforms, but is furnished with the best rations of any navy. In case of total disability, he is entitled to eight dollars a month; if he dies in the service, the same amount is paid his widow and minor children. If he so elects, instead of the pension, he is entitled to the shelter of the safe anchorage that old sailors find in the Naval Home at Philadelphia.

Albion V. Wadhams,
Lieutenant U. S. Navy.

SHIPPING ARTICLES FOR THE NAVAL SERVICE.

We, the subscribers, seamen and others, do, and each of us does, hereby agree to and with (name of Commanding Officer), of the United States Navy, in manner and form following, that is to say:

In the first place, we do hereby agree, for the considerations hereinafter men-

tioned, to enter the service of the Navy of the United States, and in due and seasonable time to repair on board such vessel of the Navy, or to such Station, as we may be ordered to join, and to the utmost of our power and ability, respectively, discharge our several services or duties, and be in everything conformable and obedient to the several requirings and lawful commands of the officers who may, from time to time, be placed over us.

Secondly, we do also oblige and subject ourselves to serve during the term of enlistment, unless sooner discharged by proper authority, and on the conditions provided by the act of Congress "to amend Section 1422 of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to the better government of the Navy," approved March 3, 1875, in the following words, to wit:

SECT. 1422. That it shall be the duty of the commanding officer of any fleet, squadron, or vessel acting singly, when on service, to send to an Atlantic or to a Pacific port of the United States, as their enlistment may have occurred on either the Atlantic or Pacific coast of the United States, in some public or other vessel, all petty-officers and persons of inferior ratings desiring to go there at the expiration of their terms of enlistment, or as soon thereafter as may be, unless, in his opinion, the detention of such persons for a longer period should be essential to the public interests, in which case he may detain them, or any of them, until the vessel to which they belong shall return to such Atlantic or Pacific port. All persons enlisted without the limits of the United States may be discharged, on the expiration of their enlistment, either in a foreign port or in a port of the United States, or they may be detained as above provided beyond the term of their enlistment; and that all persons sent home, or detained by a commanding officer, according to the provisions of this act, shall be subject in all respects to the laws and regulations for the government of the Navy until their return to an Atlantic or Pacific port and their regular discharge; and all persons so detained by such officer, or re-entering to serve until the return to an Atlantic or Pacific port of the vessel to which they belong, shall in no case be held in service more than thirty days after their arrival in said port; and that all persons who shall be so detained beyond their terms of enlistment, or who shall, after the termination of their enlistment, voluntarily re-enter to serve until the return to an Atlantic or Pacific port of the vessel to which they belong, and their regular discharge therefrom, shall receive for the time during which they are so detained, or shall so serve beyond their original terms of enlistment, an addition of one-fourth of their former pay: *Provided*, That the shipping articles shall hereafter contain the substance of this section.

And we do, severally, oblige ourselves, during such service, to comply with, and be subject to, such laws, regulations, and discipline of the Navy as are or shall be established by the Congress of the United States or other competent authority.

Thirdly, the said _____, for and in behalf of the United States, does hereby covenant and agree to and with the said seamen, and others, who have hereunto signed their names, that they and each of them, shall be paid, in consideration of such services, the amount per month which, in the column hereunto annexed, headed "WAGES PER MONTH," is set opposite to their names, respectively, or the wages due to the ratings which may, from time to time, be assigned to them during the continuance of their service aforesaid; and likewise to advance to each and every of them, at entrance, due security for the same

being first given, the amounts set opposite their respective names in the columns headed "WAGES ADVANCED," and "BOUNTY PAID," the receipt of all which they do hereby severally acknowledge.

Term of Enlistment	Date of Enlistment.			Signature of Recruit in his own Hand-writing.	Name of Recruit written by the Officer.	Rating.	Wages per Month.	Wages Advanced.	Bounty Paid.	Signature of Sureties for Wages Advanced and for Bounty Paid.	Witness to the Signature of the Recruit.
	Year.	Month.	Day.								

U. S. NAVAL RENDEZVOUS AT

....., Commanding Officer.

Forwarded,

....., Commandant.

ANALOGIC.

ANALOGIC is Nature's logic. Proportion is Nature's syllogism. Reasoning from analogy is Nature saying a thing over twice in her sign language; "books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in everything." Analogy, we are told, is "similarity of relations";¹ "a resemblance of ratios."² It implies four terms, the relation between two of which is said to be like the relation between the other two. The analogic formula therefore is

$$a : b :: x : y.$$

The mere direct likeness of two things may sometimes loosely be called analogy, but the best usage conforms to the definition above given. Thus the editor of Butler's *Analogy*³ in his preface remarks: "'All things are double, one against another: and God hath made nothing imperfect.'⁴ On this single observation of the son of Sirach, the whole fabric of our prelate's defense of religion in his *Analogy* is raised. He first inquires what the constitution of Nature, as now made known to us, actually is, and from this he endeavors to form a judgment of that larger constitution which religion discovers to us." Here "the consti-

¹ Karslake, in Webster.

³ London, 1828, p. xxiv.

² Whateley.

⁴ Ecclesiasticus xlii. 24.

tution of Nature," a known relation, may be represented by $a : b$, and "the larger constitution," an unknown or less known relation, by $x : y$; and the copula, "So is" is the logical inference from the concealed premise of Nature's great enthymeme. The universe is one, and governed by the law of continuity and congruity.

To study Analogic, is to study relations, to individualize them, to compare them. This is difficult because it is so easy. The mind runs riot. Fancy outstrips judgment. We are captivated by the number, variety, and brilliance of relations. They swarm like motes in sunbeams; relations of place, form, size, weight, number, color, time, tune, motion, force, kindred, country and others, throng upon us. Every object seems to dissolve into relations. What is man? what are we ourselves, apart from the relations material, mental, social, which we sustain? Society is a meshwork of relations; so is the material system; so the universe. Education is largely concerned with noticing particular relations. The multiplication table is an admirable *résumé* of numerical relations; the diatonic scale, of musical relations. Clocks measure time relations; thermometers and barometers, weather relations; steelyards, weight relations; and genealogical tables, rich relations and poor relations.

In practical life men acquire skill in measuring relations. Archery depends on measuring distance, weight, and direction. Splitting wood with an axe, a boy must learn to strike twice in the same place. The lumberman can tell the number of feet in a tree before it is felled; the butcher, the weight of an ox on the hoof; the farmer, the tons of hay to the acre; the sailor, the linear distance and bearings of objects on sea or shore; the painter, the shades of color in the landscape. The piano tuner, blindfold, will tell what chord is struck upon the piano. So through the range of categories, men form the habit of abstracting particular relations from the infinite complexity, as a naturalist a single film of a spider's web, under the microscope. Then comes comparison. We compare relations in the same category, and relations in different categories. We compare color with color, shape with shape, size with size, tone with tone, chord with chord, learning to estimate direct resemblances. We then go on to compare relations in different categories; color with sound, sound with emotion, form with character, outward with inward; and the more unlike the categories from which the relations are selected the more striking becomes the analogy. What more unlike than mere place and

sound? Yet sounds are long and short, high and low. Geometry and ethics are dissimilar; yet rectitude is a straight line, and uprightness a perpendicular. Sound and color are very unlike; yet, "What meaning," says Herr Teufelsdröckh, "lies in color! From soberest drab to the high flaming scarlet, spiritual influences unfold themselves in choice of color." There is a harmony of colors as well as of sounds, — a triad of three primitive colors, as well as a common chord of the musical scale. The eye of the florist or the artistic decorator or embroiderer is as sensitive to discords of color as the ear of a *maestro* to dissonance in music.

The higher notes of the scale are to many minds associated with bright colors, and the lower with dark colors, or black. The country boy in the metropolis, listening for the first time to the tones of a mighty organ, while sunbeams stream golden through the oriel window, seems to see the music and hear the sunbeams, as he murmurs, —

"Loose all your bars of massy light,
And wide unfold the 'ethereal scene'!"

Or if in some colossal World's Jubilee, in the whirlwind din of innumerable instruments, before the overture — bellowing, booming, billowing, cooing, shivering, shrilling, shrieking, blaring, clanging, while over all one high imperious A of the mighty organ holds on and on till the rebellious elements gradually reconcile themselves to each other and to it, — so, he thinks, in a great republic of competing minds and wills, one high imperial mind and will holds on and on its way, till gradually all inferior minds and wills subdue themselves to him. In all the categories of earthly being we find these sharp contrasts with equally sharp resemblances. We do not invent them. It is not a trick of words. There they are; we but find them. "The relation between mind and matter is not fancied by some poet, but stands in the will of God, and so is free to be known by all men. It appears to man, or it does not appear."¹

It is a law of Nature as real as the reflection of sky and lake. The resemblance of unlike things in their doubleness, their parallelism, comes upon us with all the force of a new discovery. It makes us laugh. It thrills us with wondering delight. Relations in the mineral kingdom resemble relations in the vegetable kingdom; these, others in the animal; these, others in the social, intellectual, moral; each sphere or kingdom furnishes rudiments of language for the next higher or neighboring, and thus to a large

¹ Emerson.

extent human language is built up. Chemistry one might describe as frozen numerical ratios. Crystals are petrified geometry. The entire material system, from microscopic to telescopic, is infinite froth of metaphors. Even dirt, or ὢλη, the *bête-noir* of the Gnostics, is a metaphor, for if you call a mean man a dog you insult the canine species; but if you call him a dirty dog you exonerate the brute, while you characterize the man. Metaphors are analogic enthymemes. Language is metaphor, recent or fossil. Prosaic or literal terms, it has been said, are metaphors that have "forgotten their pedigree." Words, like bank notes, grow ragged and filthy by use. Profanity is the "rotten diction" of unbelief, cant the "rotten diction"¹ of belief. Slang, like some mushrooms, is edible but poisonous.

Man, the microcosm, is the magnet of metaphor, tufted from top to toe, and to his very finger tips. The entire material universe centering in him, is an infinite complexity of solidified thought. "It is not words that are emblematic," says Emerson, "it is things which are emblematic; every natural fact is the symbol of some spiritual fact." Light is love, darkness is hate. Liberty loves the red, white, and blue; piracy flies the black flag; anarchy dips its brush in carmine. A congress of nations might vote to call darkness φῶς, and light σκότος, but they could not make light itself an emblem of ignorance or darkness of knowledge.

Significance, emblematic significance, is a property of matter, as really so as "porosity," or "inertia," or any other, and a far more important property. *Inertia*, what does that mean? It informs us that matter moves till something stops it, and stops till something moves it. *Porosity*, — what does that tell us? That matter has pores. But if so, then ultimate atoms are not matter, or they have pores, and are composite. These "properties" are of very little importance compared with the property of significance. And although this has not been included in the list of properties of matter in text-books of Natural Philosophy, it has been recognized with admiration by minds of the most unlike schools of thought, as a grand outward fact. Swedenborg, Carlyle, Emerson, Beecher, Bushnell, Drummond, come from all quarters of the philosophic horizon to a common center here.

"One would swear that the physical world were purely symbolical of the spiritual world."²

"What is man and his whole terrestrial life, but an emblem, a

¹ Emerson.

² Swedenborg.

clothing, or visible garment for that divine ME of his, cast hither, like a light-particle down, from Heaven?"¹

"When in fortunate hours we ponder on this miracle . . . the universe becomes transparent, and the light of higher laws than its own shines through it."²

"The material system was made with the express design of illustrating by powerful analogies the character and system of God, . . . this material world in all its sublimity, in all its beauties, in all its powers and terrors, symbolizes God."³

"The temporal is the husk and framework of the eternal, and thoughts can be uttered only through things."⁴

"If the outer world is the vast dictionary and grammar of thought, then it is also itself an organ throughout of intelligence. Whose intelligence? By this question we are set directly confronting God, the universal author, no more to hunt for him by curious arguments and subtle deductions, if haply we may find him; but he stands EXPRESSED everywhere, so that turn whichever way we please we behold the outlooking of his intelligence."⁵

The grand analogies of nature and spirit, to those who believe in God, are easily accounted for. The Father, having something to say to his offspring, provides a language with which to say it. Needing a mirror in which his children may see how much better cleanness is than defilement, smiles than frowns, he makes it. But those who do not believe in God are as much bound to account for these facts of analogy as those who do. By what principle or law of "natural selection" or "survival of the fittest" did it come to pass that the material universe is a complex analogon of thought, emotion, character? How came the atoms of the primeval fire cloud to assume such analogic forms? That through interminable ages atoms happened to be significant, and by that significance possessed a slight advantage over insignificant atoms, and choked them, and outlived them, until gradually all matter became significant, is simply unthinkable. That there is a place for gradualism, in the history of the universe, analogy abundantly shows; but no less abundantly that there is place for catastrophism. Progress has never been in a single right line, but zig-zag, as of an army flanking and outflanking its antagonist. The analogies of nature point to conflict as much as to growth. Indeed, in horticulture it is the unfit that survives, when labor is neg-

¹ Carlyle.

² Emerson.

³ Edward Beecher.

⁴ Drummond.

⁵ Bushnell.

lected. Beneath the smooth surface of the summer sea, the mariner discerns a shadowy form gliding. He sees the progressive undulation, and the knife-like fin cutting the surface, and he knows what horror is there. In the summer morning, on the shrubbery, you see the glittering web, concentric, geometric, radiate, and radiant, and in its concealed vortex the black Arachne. You need no interpreter.

Pessimism finds these analogies in abundance, and dwells exclusively upon them ; while the medicinal, recuperative, fostering, conjugal, parental, and other benign analogies are ignored. Teleology has been given up, if it is given up, because the divine end or aim, as stated, was not great enough and good enough. Let us begin our catechisms somewhat differently, as thus : —

Q. What is the chief end of God ?

A. The chief end of God is to glorify man and enjoy him forever.

This puts a new face on matters (although it is not new at all), and teleology is now worth keeping. Such a design or end is as amiable as it is grand. When we see how becoming it is for Him, of whom are all things, in bringing his many sons UNTO GLORY, to make the captain of their salvation perfect through suffering, then the analogies of conflict and pain are accounted for.

We have spoken of the argument from analogy as an enthymeme. Fully stated, in syllogistic form, it would be, —

Major. The same principles and laws prevail throughout the universe as prevail here.

Minor. Such and such principles and laws prevail here.

Conclusion. Therefore, such and such principles and laws prevail in all worlds.

Now, admit the premises and it is impossible to deny the conclusion. But if either premise is assailed, it will be the major. In that case we should look about for evidence to support it. And here science comes to our aid.

“The whole tendency of modern science is to impress upon us ever more forcibly the truth that the entire knowable universe is an immense unit, animated throughout all its parts by a single principle of life. This conclusion, which was long ago borne in upon the minds of prophetic thinkers, like Spinoza and Goethe, through their keen appreciation of the physical harmonies known to them, has during the last fifty years received something like a demonstration in detail. It is since Goethe’s death, for example, that it has been proved that the Newtonian law of gravitation

extends to the bodies which used to be called fixed stars. . . . But a still more impressive illustration of the unity of nature is furnished by the luminiferous ether when considered in connection with the discovery of the correlation of forces. The fathomless abysses of space can no longer be talked of as empty ; they are filled with a wonderful substance unlike any of the forms of matter which we can weigh and measure. A cosmic jelly almost infinitely hard and elastic, it offers at the same time no appreciable resistance to the movements of the heavenly bodies. It is so sensitive that a shock in any part of it causes a tremor which is felt on the surface of countless worlds. Radiating in every direction, from millions of centric points, run shivers of undulation, manifested in endless metamorphosis as heat, or light, or actinism, as magnetism or electricity. Crossing one another in every imaginable way, as if all space were crowded with a meshwork of nerve threads, these motions go on for ever, in a harmony that nothing disturbs. Thus every part of the universe shares in the life of all the other parts, as when in the solar atmosphere, pulsating at a temperature of a million degrees Fahrenheit, a slight breeze instantly sways the needles in every compass box on the face of the earth." ¹

The universe then is one. The same laws of life prevail, with variations according to environment in all worlds. The same laws of thought, the same moral and ethical laws prevail. The universe is, morally speaking, one body, and the health of each is important to the health of all. If one member suffer all sympathize. If one faintest star in the galaxy be invaded by selfishness and suffering, the whole creation groans with it. Slowly society here is learning the lesson of taking pains for others ; the strong, wise, virtuous, bearing in part the consequences of the faults of the weak, ignorant, vicious, while helping them to conquer those faults. Society does bear the burden, willing or unwilling ; does pay the cost, if not by schools and home training, then by courts and jails. But the problem of this age and country, which we are slowly learning to envisage, is cheerfully, intelligently, and lovingly to assume the burden. And this law of vicarious sympathy is as universal in its reach in the moral, as the law of gravitation in the natural, universe. Nature says many things which men have not yet heard her say. Take pains for each other, as I take pains for you, is her deepest lesson. The chiming spheres chant on, but our dull ears scarce catch the rhythmic vibrations.

¹ John Fiske, *The Idea of God*, pp. 144-146.

Out of the belfries of Heaven come every quarter of an hour, every minute indeed, phrases of quainter, more chromatic harmony than the nocturnal chimes of Anvers. Hush, delirious world! — Hush, and listen!

Charles Beecher.

WYSOX, PENN.

THE WESTMINSTER CONFESSION AND THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

AT the famous meeting of the New York Presbytery, in January, 1890, when the Revision of the Westminster Confession was debated, declarations were made by the opponents of revision, to the effect that the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Episcopal Church were in thorough accord with those features of the Confession which the advocates of revision proposed to remove. This statement was denied by some distinguished scholars who favored revision. It is the purpose of the present paper to consider the question and from an examination of the two formularies of the respective churches, to set forth their proper relation to each other, in the light of their statements and their history.

It must be frankly acknowledged at the outset, that if the Confession and the Articles on the subject of preterition are in substantial accord, the Episcopal Church has practically given up her formularies on this point. There may be now a few high Calvinists among her clergy, as in times past there have been a great many, but high Calvinism does not to-day represent or interpret aright the tone and temper of either her ecclesiastics or her laity. Preterition or unconditional reprobation, absolute and inexplicable, if not arbitrary, election, possible if not probable infant damnation, are all of them repugnant to the theology now held by her members and taught by her ministers. The universality of God's love for the race, the universality of Christ's atonement for sinners, the universality of the Holy Ghost's influence on the hearts and minds of men, are all strongly held and clearly preached. Let us examine her Articles, and compare them with the statements of the Westminster Confession to discover whether they require the same doctrinal position, and learn from the documents, as interpreted by their history, whether the Anglican theology of to-day is a legitimate development or a reckless defiance of the historical position of the Anglican Church.

The portions of the Westminster Confession, on this subject, which it is now desired to remove, are found in the third and fifth chapters, and they read as follows : —

WESTMINSTER CONFSSION.

CHAP. III. "3. By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others foreordained to everlasting death.

"4. These angels and men, thus predestinated and foreordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed ; and their number is so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished.

"7. The rest of mankind God was pleased according to the unsearchable counsel of his own will, whereby he extendeth or withholdeth mercy as he pleaseth, for the glory of his sovereign power over his creatures, to pass by, and to ordain them to dishonor and wrath for their sin, to the praise of his glorious justice.

CHAP. V. "6. As for those wicked and ungodly men whom God, as a righteous judge, for former sins, doth blind and harden, from them he not only withholdeth his grace, whereby they might have been enlightened in their understandings and wrought upon in their hearts, but sometimes also withdraweth the gifts which they had, and exposeth them to such objects as their corruption makes occasion of sin," etc.

We turn now to the Seventeenth Article of the Thirty-Nine. It reads as follows : —

"Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his counsel secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honor. Wherefore they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God, be called according to God's purpose by his spirit, working in due season — they through grace obey the calling ; they be justified freely, they be made sons of God by adoption ; they be made like the image of his only begotten Son Jesus Christ ; they walk religiously in good works, and at length by God's mercy they attain to everlasting felicity.

"As the Godly consideration of predestination and our election in Christ is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons and such as feel in themselves the working of the spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things, as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation, to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God ; so for curious and carnal persons, lacking the spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's pre-

destination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the Devil doth thrust them either into desperation or into wretchlessness of most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation.

"Furthermore we must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture. And in our doings that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God."

Before entering on a more minute comparison of the two formularies of the two communions, nothing it is evident can be more distinct than their method and tone. In fact the last clauses of the XVIIth Article expressly deprecate as most dangerous the dogmatic assertions which are so conspicuous in the parts of the Confession of Faith just quoted. There is a view of predestination, it asserts, which in the curious and carnal mind is most dangerous, producing either desperation or wretchlessness of most unclean living. That view is the one which the article avoids, and which the Confession of Faith minutely considers and defines. It is unconditional preterition which, in sensitive minds, creates desperation, in its assurance that their fate is fixed irrespective of all save a secret and unalterable decree of God. It is the unconditional decree which in sensuous minds induces laxness of morals and dissipation of life, since if elected, these argue, they will infallibly be saved by sovereign grace, and if non-elect they will infallibly be damned by sovereign justice; *i. e.*, their fate is wholly irrespective of their wills and lives. One perceives from a further comparison of these documents, —

First, That there is no statement whatever in the XVIIth Article concerning the reprobation of sinners by God. The Devil is said to use certain views of predestination, in curious and carnal persons, lacking the spirit of Christ, to thrust them either into desperation or into wretchedness of most unclean living; but God is never said to pass over or desert a single soul.

Second, The Article is simply a positive statement concerning the saved, and is the assertion that it was God's eternal purpose to save all such through and in Christ. It does not affirm that only those who may hear of Christ are saved by him. It simply says that all who are saved are saved through Christ, and that it is God's eternal will to save, and so to save them.

Third, The phrase, "those whom he hath chosen in Christ," which may seem to indicate special persons, may apply to classes of men as well as to particular individuals; *i. e.*, to all those who believe and do not reject the offered mercy, as well as to this or

that person, irrespective of their moral condition or response, according to the expression "who is the Saviour of all men, specially of them that believe."

Fourth, We note that in the XVIIth Article no cause or theory of God's choice is stated, as it is defined in the Westminster Confession, which says (chap. iii., 2) "God . . . hath not decreed anything, because he foresaw it as future, or as that which would come to pass upon such conditions;" and in chap. x., 2, "This effectual call is of God's free and special grace alone, not from anything at all foreseen in man, who is altogether passive therein." In the Article which speaks of those whom God hath chosen in Christ, it is quite as consonant, so far as the Article goes, to affirm that the choice is founded on foreseen faith as on unconditional decree, in accordance with the Arminian exposition of the sentence of St. Paul in the Romans, "Whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son." There is a dispute among scholars about the exegesis of this text. But so far as the Article is concerned it is at least congruous with the Arminian interpretation. Now, therefore, as we have seen that in the XVIIth Article there is no mention of the passing by of sinners or the ordaining them to dishonor and wrath (as in West. Conf., chap. iii., 7.); that there is no statement whatever that, "By the decree of God for the manifestation of his glory" some men and angels are "foreordained to everlasting death" (as in West. Conf., chap. iii., 3); that there is no hint of particularistic selection, as that, "these angels and men thus predestinated and foreordained are particularly and unchangeably designed, and their number so certain and definite, that it cannot either be increased or diminished" (as in West. Conf., chap. iii., 4); and that there is no distinction of infants into elect, and by implication non-elect (as in West. Conf., chap. x., 3), it would seem to be impossible to assert the coincidence of the Article with the Confession, or to use it as a buttress to prop up statements which it does not contain, or to support theories which it does not so much as mention. It is only possible therefore to affirm the identity of the Articles and the Confession by the assertion that the one implies, if it does not explicitly assert, the views of the other. But this implication is not valid either. The trend of the Article is shown in its last paragraph. "We must," it says, "receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally [generically, — "generaliter" is the Latin original] set forth to us in Holy Scripture;" and they are there set forth always to classes or characters of

men, — never to selected individuals ; to believers and non-believers ; to obedient or disobedient servants ; to the spiritually minded or carnally minded. God's predestination, in the Scripture presentation of it, is towards classes of men of certain character, not to certain individuals irrespective of character.

It may here be remarked that the Scriptural terms used in the XVIIth Article are apt to take color in many minds from the theological controversies which have been waged about them. It is the same as in our political controversies. Names are appropriated by parties so that they come in the common mind to be synonymous with them. If one speaks of a truly republican idea, nine out of ten to-day would think it indicated an idea of the Republican party, instead of one consonant with the principles of a republic. To say, "That sentiment is truly democratic," suggests to the multitude that it is the special property of the Democratic party, not that it pertains to the general conception of rule by the people. Thus Scriptural terms are often identified with the sense in which theological controversialists have used them. But where Scriptural terms are used in official statements they are not merely susceptible of, they are only rightly subjected to, Scriptural, not partisan, interpretation. In regard to such a term as "predestination" one must comprehend the general and large sense in which the Scripture writers used it, before he can understand its use in the formularies. In general, it is not too much to affirm that the term, used chiefly by St. Paul and St. Peter, is used in the sense of enlargement, — not of restriction. It is an assertion, in opposition to the particularistic assertion of the Jews, of God's eternal purpose to bring in the Gentiles. The freedom and universality of the Gospel, so violently opposed by the Jews, were not, the Apostles maintained, a new purpose or conception of God. St. Paul was not preaching a revolution but a development when he preached Christ to the Gentiles. The call of all men in Christ was not a recent caprice or modern change in the Divine Mind. It was what He had always meant. "According as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world . . . having *predestinated* us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ, . . . that in the dispensation of the fullness of times he might gather together in one all things in Christ, . . . in whom also we have obtained an inheritance, being *predestinated* according to the purpose of him who worketh all things after the counsel [not of narrow Jewish particularism, but] of his own will" (Ephesians i., 4, 5, 10, 11).

This conception of God's eternal purpose of salvation in Jesus Christ to all mankind, apart from race or any other distinction, is the key to the correct interpretation of St. Paul's epistles. If in reading them one bears this general principle in mind, it serves to clear many a passage which may have seemed clouded by an arbitrary exclusiveness.

St. Peter affirms that there are in St. Paul's epistles, "Some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, unto their own destruction." There can be no wresting to destruction more complete than to interpret the Apostle in distinct contravention of the Christ, or in direct contradiction of himself.

In this matter of the grace of God for all men, and of the scope and intent of the redemption of the cross, the Master and his Apostles are perfectly explicit and clear. "God sent not his Son into the world," Christ declares, "to condemn the world; but that the world through him might be saved." Observe, *the world*, — not a portion of it. The Divine *intent* is clear, and clearly universal. If any fail of salvation it lies not in the limit of the Divine purpose, but in man's neglect or resistance of it. This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil. And St. John affirms of Christ, "That was the true light, which lighteth *every man* that cometh into the world" — (the universality of God's intent is not clouded whether, with some, we render the passage, this is the true light which, coming into the world, lighteth every man, or this is the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. Every man is enlightened, in either reading) — and of the Baptist the Apostle writes, "The same came . . . to bear witness of the light, that *all* men through him might believe."

Our Lord said to his disciples, "I if I be lifted up . . . will draw *all* men unto me." So also St. John wrote of him, "He is the propitiation for our sins and not for our's only, but also for the sins of the whole world." So also St. Peter: "The . . . Lord is long-suffering to usward, *not willing* that *any* should perish, but that all should come to repentance." And St. Paul: "God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon *all*." Where sin abounded, grace doth much more abound. If amid passages like these we meet with words such as predestinate and elect, we are assured that whatever they mean, they do not mean to limit God's intention of goodness and grace to all mankind.

Now, apart from all other Scriptural argument on the subject, we dare not construe the Apostle against himself, or so use a mystery as to becloud a clear truth; we cannot explain the passage, "I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy," to mean, God hath included all in unbelief that, He may have mercy upon *some*, or that where sin abounded grace *did not quite so much* abound, or, in fine, to suggest that the evil wrought in Adam is not fully met in Christ; because St. Paul affirms the contrary, and in the fifth chapter of the Romans is very explicit in asserting that, "Therefore, as by the offense of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon *all men* unto justification of life." Therefore, as the use of the terms predestination and election does not in the Scriptures limit God's provision and intention of grace to all men, neither need they in the XVIIth Article, which must be tried by the rule laid down in Article XX., "Of the authority of the Church," namely "It is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another."

Let us now turn to the history of the Articles, that we may see as nearly as possible what they were intended to mean when they were put forth as indicative of the position of the Church of England. The Articles were chiefly compiled by Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. He was assisted in some measure by the other Episcopal martyrs, Bishops Latimer and Ridley, and in less degree by Hooper, bishop first of Gloucester and afterward of Winchester. The Continental reformers then teaching or preaching in England, — Bucer, professor at Cambridge; Peter Martyr, professor at Oxford; and John à Lasco, preaching in London, — were also occasionally conferred with. These latter were not in the ecclesiastical commission from which the Articles issued. In 1549, an act of Parliament was passed empowering the king, Edward VI., to appoint a commission of thirty-two persons to make ecclesiastical laws. Under this act a commission, consisting of eight bishops (including those above mentioned), eight divines, eight civilians, and eight lawyers, was appointed in 1551. Though the English Church had already defined her faith in the catholic creeds which she retained and maintained in their integrity, and which were embodied in her liturgy for the purpose of devotional use and edification, as well as for doctrinal vindication and defense; "in order to check discordance and promote

unanimity of sentiment, and above all things to guard against the errors of the Church of Rome, it seemed important to establish an authoritative standard of public opinion." In this proceeding, Cranmer was the leading spirit; in fact, while taking counsel with others, he was the composer of the Articles. As Archbishop Laurence, in his celebrated Bampton Lectures of 1804, writes, "They are to be ascribed to Cranmer, who was not only officially deputed to the task on account of his rank and situation (as Archbishop of Canterbury), but eminently qualified for it by his character and abilities. Indeed, when interrogated on this point by his relentless persecutors, not long before his death, he unequivocally avowed himself to have been the author of them." 'Ridley expressly stated that he both perused the production before its publication and noted many things for it; that he thus consented to it, but that he was not its author. Latimer, dwelling in his old age at this time under the roof of the archbishop, who for his virtues and integrity had acquired the proud title of Apostle of England, was doubtless consulted; but Cranmer alone ought to be considered as the real author, collecting indeed the sentiments of others, yet regulating his decisions by a judgment which, matured by the most extensive reading, his adversaries respected and his friends revered.'

It is of great interest and importance, therefore, to inquire what was the mind of Cranmer on the subject treated in the Seventeenth Article, that we may understand with what intent it was introduced. While that or any article of the Thirty-Nine is to be interpreted according to the laws of grammatical speech, and while no one man's intention can bind the whole church to one special interpretation, if the expression admits of other and more varied explication, it still throws light on what was meant to be included and expressed in the formulary, to understand the mental atmosphere in which it took its form.

Now it may be remarked that as early as 1538, in the reign of Henry VIII., Cranmer had presented thirteen articles for consideration, taken chiefly from the Augsburg Confession. And in the Articles of 1552, which are essentially those now retained by the church, many are taken almost bodily out of the Augsburg Confession, such as the 1st, 9th, 16th, 25th, 26th, and 34th. Others bear marked traces of the language of Melancthon, the author of the Augsburg Confession. The revision of them under Archbishop Parker in 1559, reduced them from forty-two to thirty-eight. They were finally made thirty-nine by convocation in 1571,

and of these several, such as the 2d, 5th, 6th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and 20th, were copied from the Württemberg Confession, a Lutheran document exhibited in the Council of Trent. The Lutheran influence is thus shown to be predominant in their compilation. The Articles themselves thus bear witness to the doctrinal sources which moulded the opinions of Cranmer at this time. These sources were not especially or predominantly Calvinistic. They were distinctly of the milder Lutheran type, represented by Melancthon in his later years. The publications of this great theologian after the composition of the Augsburg Confession, and the later edition, in 1535, of the "*Loci Theologici*," were in distinct opposition to Calvin in regard to the wisdom of dogmatic and severe logical definitions concerning the topics of predestination and election.

Earlier, Luther and Melancthon both held high views of predestination. At the Diet of Augsburg, 1530, twenty-two years before the articles of Cranmer were published, the celebrated confession written by Melancthon was presented to the emperor, and it is a confession which significantly contains no article at all on predestination and election. From this time on both Luther and his disciple Melancthon abandoned the high views of predestination which they had at first adopted. In the second edition of the "*Loci Theologici*" (Melancthon's great work on dogmatic theology), printed seventeen years before the Articles were published, his former views of predestination were retracted. Luther expressly approved of this later edition of the work, which expounded his own theology, and speaks in his own strong language of the predestinarian controversies set on foot in his time, as the work of the Devil. Melancthon, too, in the strongest terms condemned what he called the Stoical and Manichean rage, by which all good and evil deeds are fated, and urged all people to fly from such monstrous doctrines. He styled Calvin the Zeno of his age. Such being the theological position, on this point, of those from whose doctrinal standards Cranmer drew many of the articles bodily, we are prepared to consider their personal influence upon him. Now Melancthon and Cranmer were especially close and admiring friends. The greatest intimacy and confidence existed between them. For a series of years during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. both the king and the leading reformers were most desirous of bringing Melancthon to England, and nothing but the death of Edward VI. prevented him from being established in the chair of divinity at

Cambridge, formerly filled by Erasmus, and more recently by Bucer, who died in 1551, while the Articles were preparing.

Melancthon had been particularly consulted at the original conception of the Articles, and great importance was attached to his opinions. There is even reason to think that Cranmer was influenced in drawing up the XVIIth Article by suggestions of Melancthon. When consulted by Cranmer in 1548, on the compilation of a public confession on this particular question, he wrote, commending great caution and moderation; adding that, "at first the stoical disputations about fate were too horrible among the reformers," and injurious to good discipline, and urging that Cranmer should think well concerning any such formula of doctrine.

As the formula which Cranmer adopted in the XVIIth Article bears in parts of it a strong verbal resemblance, and an exact coincidence in idea, to explicit statements of Melancthon, and as he avoided in it those "too horrible discussions about fate," which Melancthon in so many words cautioned him against, we may justly conclude, as Dr. Browne, the present bishop of Winchester, in his treatise on the Articles, and Archbishop Laurence, in his Bampton Lectures of 1804, affirm, that the view set forth in the Article accords with that of Melancthon, rather than with that of Calvin.

For this there are several further reasons. The first is, that although Calvin was honored both for his character and learning by Cranmer, with whom he corresponded, his system, at the time the Seventeenth Article was drawn up, had not as yet produced much influence in England. His Institutes, which contain strong predestinarian language, were indeed published before this, early in the Genevan reformer's career. But the great discussion on this head at Geneva, and the publication of his book, "*De Predestinatione*," did not take place till 1552, — the very year the Articles were published and only one month before they appeared. The high Calvinism which marked some of the great prelates of the Church of England at a later period was a subsequent development. In the long reigns of Elizabeth and of her successor, James I., such were Archbishop Usher of Dublin and Whitgift of Canterbury, who wished to supplement the Thirty-Nine Articles (finally adopted by convocation in Elizabeth's time), by the Lambeth Articles, which at a much later period were composed to express that intense Calvinism which found subsequent expression in the Westminster Confession, — Articles

168 *Westminster Confession and Thirty-Nine Articles*. [August, composed in order to supply what was then acknowledged to be a lack of high Calvinistic doctrine in the Articles as we now have them.

We must not forget that at the time of the appearance of the Articles, the errors of the Church of Rome were almost the sole objects of religious altercation. No public discussion of consequence had occurred among Protestants, although thinking variously on various topics, except upon the single point of the eucharist; and, as before said, Calvin's system, on this head of predestination, had not obtained its full reputation. His controversies upon that subject, which first began to perpetuate his name and to render Calvinism a characteristic appellation for absolute personal predestination, had not then taken place. As an evidence of this it has been shown, by Archbishop Laurence, that none of the Protestants who suffered in the reign of Mary were accused of having adopted the sentiments of Calvin, but either those of Luther or Zwingli.

The Articles thus were not published as elements in a Calvinistic controversy. They were bent, all of them, against the schoolmen of the Roman Church and their doctrines. They were intended to shatter the doctrine of human merit, which was said to deserve grace from God, of congruity or condignity, and were not meant to limit or preclude the universality of the grace of God to sinners. This scholastic theory of deserved grace is denied in the XVIIth Article as in the XIIIth, which affirms that grace is given not to the worthy but to the sinful, not to patronize merit but to deliver from curse and damnation. Thus all the Articles may be viewed as a polemic against Rome, not as taking sides in a Protestant dissension. The dispute on fate and free will of Luther with Erasmus, twenty years before our Articles appeared, however sharp was short, and Cranmer could not mistake for the doctrines of the Lutherans those views which themselves wished to forget and were anxious to obliterate.

The second reason which confirms the impression of the Article itself, that it is to be taken in the sense of Melancthon rather than that of Calvin, is the fact that Cranmer was a most diligent student and learned master of the early fathers of the Christian church. This early patristic literature, up to the time of Augustine, in the latter half of the fourth century, in its views of election did not, as Fales convincingly shows in his scholarly treatise on the primitive doctrine of election, agree with either the Calvinistic or the Arminian view. According to the tenor of the writings

of the early fathers, election is not an election immediate to everlasting life, but an election mediate. As Justin Martyr declares, "This only we hold to be fated that they who choose what is good shall obtain a reward: that they who choose what is evil shall be punished." It was an election to Christian privileges, whose purpose and intention by God are to lead to everlasting life, but which do not involve it unless these privileges are accepted and improved. It was election into the church of God, where every requisite to salvation is found, but whose advantages must be appropriated in order to benefit those elected or called unto them. Men were elected or called into them in order that they might attain everlasting life. If God's purpose in it were followed, everlasting life would result, and so far forth it was an "election to everlasting life." But man must make his calling and election sure, by coöperating with the grace whereunto he was called. The election to grace was immediate; the election to everlasting life was mediate, dependent on the use of grace. With these early patristic views, with which Cranmer was perfectly conversant as an accomplished patristic scholar, Melanethon in essence agrees. They express substantially his views. Both he and Luther held to synergism in salvation, and clearly taught, in distinction from Calvin, that Christ died for all men, and that God willed all to be saved. They held that all persons brought to baptism and the church were to be esteemed the elect people of God; not as infallibly saved, but as called to a state of salvation. The catholic church is, according to these, the election; all its members constitute the elect people of God, because they are all called into it in order that they may be saved; which they will be if they accept the grace offered them. That this was the purpose and meaning of the XVIIth Article is seen further in that this interpretation brings it into accord with the offices of devotion as contained in the Prayer Book. The accusation has been made that the English Church has Calvinistic Articles and an Arminian liturgy. But in this assertion it is forgotten or overlooked that the composition of the Articles and the compilation and revision of the offices of devotion are all from the same guiding hand. Cranmer is responsible for both. It is not credible that he wished the church to preach in one way and to pray in another. Now in the offices of baptism, of the holy communion, of morning and evening prayer, there are many declarations and expressions which are wholly out of agreement with certain tenets of the extreme Calvinistic theology. It may be answered "that is, because these

offices are the ancient forms of catholic worship." But it is equally true of the parts introduced by the reformers into the liturgy from continental models. For instance, the prayer of general confession is a translation through the Latin of a French prayer composed by Calvin himself, translated into Latin by Polanus and into English from him. But we mark in it an insertion not found either in Calvin's French or Polanus's Latin; *i. e.*, the phrase "According to thy promises *declared unto mankind* in Christ Jesus our Lord," — a universal promise to a class of penitents, not a particularistic determination of certain individuals. Mark also the declaration of absolution, of which there is the faintest trace in Polanus, in which occurs the Scriptural affirmation of the disposition of God, "who desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may turn from his wickedness and live," and one must say that these offices, new at the Reformation, and inserted by Cranmer himself, were not constructed on the extreme Calvinistic model. Take the office for the baptism of infants. The exhortation after the gospel is the exposition of Christ's general or universal disposition towards children as the ground of applying baptism to *this* child. The child now to be baptized is not held up as an exception, but as a specimen of all children as God regards them. "Ye perceive how, by his outward gesture and deed, he [our Saviour Christ] declared his good will toward them [children in general]. Doubt ye not therefore . . . that he will likewise favorably receive this present infant."

And then follows the thanksgiving for the election or calling of God, which is, "We give thee humble thanks, that thou hast vouchsafed to call us" [the church in general], to what? "to the knowledge of thy grace, and faith in thee." It is the election to spiritual privilege, whose true issue and interest is eternal life, but whose privilege must be actively embraced by him to whom it is conveyed, in order thus to result. "Wherefore, after this promise made by Christ," the service goes on to say, "which he for his part will most surely keep and perform," "this infant must also . . . for his part, promise . . . that he will renounce the Devil, and . . . believe God's word, and obediently keep his commandments," *i. e.*, respond to the proffered grace. This office is not conceived in the atmosphere of absolute predestination, but in that of the early Patristic doctrine.

In the office of the holy communion, in the prayer of consecration, the universality of the atonement is declared in the phrase,

"who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world." Now the framer of these offices was not imbued with a belief in a limited atonement. In these offices three of the cardinal tenets of the five points of Calvinism are expressly contravened. But the *decretum horribile* (Calvin's own phrase) of unconditional reprobation is founded on that theory of human nature and human will in relation to the Divine nature and the Divine will, which logically requires all the five points of Calvinism, the limited atonement, the effectual call only of the elect, and the indefectibility of grace, as well as absolute predestination; and where these are not held the others are not likely to be held. The Offices, revised by the same authority which issued the Articles, furnish a strong presumption against such exposition of the Articles as brings them into accord with Chapters III., V., and X. of the Westminster Confession.

But another yet more convincing reason for emphasizing the distinction between the two formularies is at hand. In 1595 (forty-three years after the Forty-Two Articles of Cranmer appeared) the celebrated Lambeth Articles, nine in number, were composed, and were sought to be engrafted on the Thirty-Nine Articles, once during Elizabeth's reign, and once in James I.'s time. These Articles stated with most startling distinctness the doctrines of ultra-Calvinism afterwards embodied in the Westminster Confession. They met the personal approval of several most distinguished prelates and divines of the time, Archbishop Whitgift of Canterbury and the Bishops of London and Bangor among them. The justly celebrated James Usher, who in 1624 became Archbishop of Dublin, obtained for them a place in the Irish Church; though, twenty years after, they were displaced in that church by the Thirty-Nine Articles. But they never found a place in the English formularies. They were composed to meet a difficulty originating in the teaching of Barret, a fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, who preached *ad clerum* against Calvin's doctrines about predestination and falling from grace. For after the accession of Elizabeth (the Articles, we must remember, appeared in 1552, before her accession), the Calvinistic dispute rose to its highest pitch on the Continent and elsewhere. The Institutes of Calvin now became a handbook of the English clergy, and in this reign the sympathy, which had sprung up with the Continental Reformers, during the banishments under Mary, made the teaching of the English divines approximate more and

more to the teaching of the Calvinists. Many of the most distinguished men were now high Calvinists. As such they were not content with the XVIIth Article, and desired the nine Lambeth Articles, to give sufficient expression to their views. This is significant of the fact that the XVIIth Article does not contain those views. And the fact that these Lambeth articles, however favored by distinguished individuals, never received any sanction of the church or crown, indicates that the doctrines contained in them are not imposed by the formularies of the English Church. So much can be said from the side of the Articles. Let us look at the question briefly from the side of the Westminster Confession.

Under the authority of the Long Parliament in 1642 (ninety years after the Thirty-Nine Articles appeared) an assembly of divines met by order of Parliament at Westminster, to amend the Articles of the English Church, with the intent to make them more explicitly Calvinistic. They advanced in this procedure so far as the Article XV., not reaching the celebrated XVIIth, when they were ordered to proceed no further on these lines. Even in the fifteen articles amended, the difficulties were too great. Sufficient congruity of form could not be retained if Calvinistic views were to be more explicitly stated.

The assembly then proceeded to draw up the formula now known as the Westminster Confession of Faith. It was published in 1647, ninety-five years after the Articles first appeared. Three thousand clergymen, who had signed the Thirty-Nine Articles, refused to sign the Confession, and lost thereby their benefices. The basis of the Confession was not, as at first intended, the Thirty-Nine Articles, but the Irish Articles. These incorporated the famous Lambeth Articles, which the English Church had refused to adopt. The Irish Articles were drawn up by James Usher, who was then professor of divinity in Dublin, and afterward archbishop of that see. They were composed in 1615, sixty-three years after the appearance of the English articles. They expressed in the strongest terms the high Calvinism which had come to prevail in some quarters, declaring in almost the same words the views and statements contained in the Westminster Confession. Indeed, the Irish Articles and the Confession, in the order of subjects, the heading of chapters, in many single phrases, and in spirit and in sentiment, are almost identical. But just as widely as the Irish Articles diverge from the English, so does the Westminster Confession. To identify therefore the statements of

the English Church on predestination with those of the Westminster Confession is unwarranted. In fact, since the Irish Articles, after twenty years of use, fell into desuetude, the Westminster Confession has the monopoly, among all Protestant confessions, of the statements and deductions which many now desire to excise from the Presbyterian standards.

Concerning the place of the Articles in the English Church and its American branch, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, and of their binding authority, it may be remarked in closing this paper, that the Thirty-Nine Articles do not constitute the creed of either church. They indicate the polemical position towards Rome taken by the reformed church at the Reformation, and on their side of the controversy loyal churchmen are bound to stand. No subscription to them is required by either clergy or laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and their express words or form of expression is not (even now in England) obligatory upon any one. But historically the Anglican communion combats the Church of Rome along the line which they indicate. The two creeds, called the Apostles' and the Nicene, are the credenda of the churches, and the impress of no master mind, as of Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Wesley, Pusey, or Arnold, has any force of obligation in interpreting the facts and statements of the creeds, further than the reasons adduced therefor have weight. The motto of the Anglican communion may justly be said to be, "Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri," — save always those of the one great master, whose word shall never pass away, in "whom the whole body, fitly joined together and compacted by that which *every joint* supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of *every part*, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love."

C. C. Tiffany.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

EDITORIAL.

THE HARM OF UNEDIFYING PREACHING.

THE pastor of a prominent Congregational church in Connecticut recently received a letter from one of his parishoners, from which we are allowed to make the following extract. The letter, it should be said, was written in serious concern about a young man in whom the writer was religiously interested.

"The preaching I heard in — consisted of doctrinal disquisitions only, of about a hundred years ago, and it was a revelation to me that enlightened Christians of this time could endure it. There was n't a word hardly in the sermons I heard to teach a man how to live a better life. I wish I knew if you thought it a duty for a young man, who is not a Christian, to go to church under such circumstances."

We do not presume to give the pastoral advice which is here asked for. Many would doubtless say, Let the young man be advised to go to church to worship, or to meet Christian people, or to show his respect for the Sabbath, or for a proper influence in the community. We should agree that there are reasons for church-going quite independent of the sermon, but we do not care to urge these at present, for we have a word to say about those preachers who, as preachers, are making it more and more difficult for Christian people to attend church, and almost impossible for them to persuade others to attend. The grievance of this letter is a very real one, and we suspect that in some communities there is no little occasion for it. The complaint is not that the preaching is unattractive or uninteresting, but that it is unhelpful — "hardly a word in the sermons I heard to teach a man how to live a better life." This is a very serious complaint, whatever may be the particular cause which gives rise to it. In the case before us preaching had become a series of "doctrinal disquisitions," and quite out of date at that: a state of things for which we suppose the theological training of the preacher may fairly be held responsible, and that the responsibility should be about equally divided between the departments of Theology and Homiletics. Theology must be as scientific as anything which assumes to be a science. And the teaching of theology must conform to the laws of philosophical thought. But to the degree in which theology assumes to be a science it must follow accredited scientific methods. To teach theology in terms which are obsolete and outlawed is a philosophical absurdity. The evident mistake of some theologians is that of giving an authority to the philosophy of a given period which belongs only to the truth which it tries to formulate. The philosophers are the real popes of Protestantism. It is their dictum which is infallible, not the word of God. And dogmatic preaching of a certain type betrays the fact. The preacher may deceive himself with the idea that he is declaring the truth of Scripture, but he

does not deceive his hearers. The more intelligent see that he is under bondage to an antiquated system of metaphysics. The less intelligent simply know that they are not nourished and fed by vital truth.

But granting that the theology as taught is fresh and vital, a veritable present-day theology, it is not ready to be preached. Preaching consists in finding out the motive of truth and discerning its practical end. The study of truth must be followed, if not attended, by the study of life. There is a reason in putting homiletics near the close of a theological curriculum. After the truths of Scripture have been thought out in their logical conclusion, they are to be transformed into great working truths. They are to be translated into the language of the people. They are to be adjusted to the moral and spiritual needs of men. Of course this process of reduction and adjustment can only be begun in the seminary. But the eyes of students can be opened to the working power of the truth, and their hearts kindled with enthusiasm for its human uses. No man is fit to enter the ministry, whatever may be his general equipment, who is not thoroughly possessed with the idea of the *helpfulness* of truth.

But evidently there are men in the ministry who have never discerned the helpful aspects of truth, or who have never learned the art of helpfulness. We have a suggestion to offer to those who suffer most at their hands, especially to young men who are questioning the profitableness of church attendance. Why not try to help such ministers to the right understanding of their work? Mere criticism will be useless, and advice will not be much better. What we have in mind is a more personal method. Let a young man go to a minister, and when he has gained his interest and confidence gradually open to him the world in which he and others like him are living. Let the disclosures be so clear and definite, if need be so realistic, that he will be made to see, if he can be made to see at all, what religion must do to help a young man in his daily life. We do not say that this method will always be successful. But we suggest that it is worth trying. Young men have already accomplished very much in changing the attitude of the church toward modern life. The church of to-day is in various ways more helpful than the church of a hundred years ago. The Sunday-school, Christian associations, societies of Christian Endeavor, and the like, are the result of the continuous purpose to make the church help men — "to teach a man *how* to live a better life." Why cannot the ministry be made more available, at points where it is lacking, toward the same general end? We allow that preaching is a much more delicate matter to reach and adjust than the activities of the church. There is danger in the attempt of officiousness, of superficial judgment, of immature and ill-advised criticism. Still the laity are concerned in the success of the church. The responsibility for the truth does not rest upon the clergy alone. The problem of unhelpful and ununifying preaching belongs to the church at large, as

much as any problem which involves its growth and power. We believe that the problem can often be simplified by making it more personal in the way which we have suggested. And we do not hesitate to advise this personal method in cases where seminaries have neglected training in the art of spiritual helpfulness.

THE ANGLO-GERMAN AGREEMENT.

THE African convention recently signed by representatives of the English and German governments requires ratification, which may not be completed until the winter session of the Reichstag. No doubt, however, is expressed that the agreement will be confirmed, and that a firm basis is already assured for the amicable settlement of claims and interests which were becoming more and more difficult of adjustment.

The more important articles of the compact are these:—

England, with Germany's concurrence, and the assent of the Sultan, which has been given, assumes an exclusive protectorate over Zanzibar and Pemba.

Germany surrenders its claim to a protectorate over Witu, and all territory up to the river Juba. This includes a coast line of more than two hundred miles. Further, the English claims are recognized to that portion of the *Hinter-land*, or back country, which lies between the Stevenson road (connecting Lake Nyassa with Lake Tanganyika), and the Congo Free State; and the northern line of German territory west of Victoria Nyanza, is bent southward so as to leave to England the regions covered by Mr. Stanley's treaties.

On the other hand, England transfers to Germany the island of Heligoland; and practically concedes, though with some degree of theoretical reserve, the German doctrine that "where one Power occupies the coast another Power may not, without consent, occupy unclaimed regions in its rear." On this basis, England consents that the German lines run back from the sea-board to the eastern boundary of the Congo State, although this cuts her possessions in two. This disadvantage is, however, relieved by an agreement that there shall be free transit for men and goods, and "equal rights of settling or of trading," for Englishmen and Germans throughout the territories secured to either country.

The agreement also includes arrangements respecting territories in Southwestern Africa (Ngamiland and Damaraland), and access to the river Volta.

A vivid impression of the importance of this compact will be gained by tracing on a map of Africa the treaty lines: we leave out of account what relates to the western coast, and follow a map published as a "Supplement to the Guardian, June 25, 1890."

First, on the Zanzibar coast, mark a point, a little south of Mombas and Cape Waseen, opposite Waseen Island. The German coast line ex-

tends from this point to Cape Delgado. From the northern end of this shore line strike back northwesterly to the southern entrance of the Bay of Kavirondo on the eastern shore of Victoria Nyanza. There is a bow in the boundary sufficient to leave in the German territory the mountains from which flows the river Rufu. The line continues due west on the parallel one degree south latitude, across the lake, then deflects about S. S. E. to a point a little below Lake Windermere (nearly two degrees south lat.) and then continues westerly to the boundary of the Congo State. All north of this line is left free to England up to the river Juba, the Italian Protectorate in Abyssinia and Gallaland, and as much farther as her power can reach toward the mouths of the Nile. The southern boundary of the German "sphere of influence" runs from Cape Delgado inland, along the north bank of the river Rovuma, or Luvuma, to Lake Nyassa, then east of the Stevenson Road to Lake Tanganyika, striking the lake a little north of the ninth parallel of south latitude and running thence directly west to the Congo State line. South of this portion of the boundary west of Lake Tanganyika is British territory to below Lake Bangueolo. Lake Nyassa is mainly within the British sphere, with a belt of country on its western shore, and as much territory east and south down to the mouth of the Zambesi as can be adjusted to the Portuguese possessions on the coast.

A few details, mostly geographical, may still further enhance the impression gained by such an outline map. The Germans must contemplate with special satisfaction the abutment of their territory on that of the Congo Free State. It is within the possibilities of the future that their sphere of influence may extend from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic. And whatever may be the future of the state created by the King of Belgium, they win, in the vast regions where now they are to have a free hand, opportunities for treaties with native chiefs, for commerce, colonization, and government sufficient to task their utmost ability.

The English protectorate of Zanzibar may in the end prove to be no disadvantage to German traders. It lies, indeed, over against the German sphere, and is now the key to the inland traffic. But one of their countrymen, acceded to as a competent authority, claims that German commerce need not make use of Zanzibar as an entrepot but ship directly to some harbor on the mainland. "The island of Zanzibar," he says, "must no longer have any existence for us."¹

However this may be, Lord Salisbury has very clearly mitigated for the present any disappointment in Germany at the decision respecting Zanzibar, by the offered cession of Heligoland. The two transactions, indeed, are quite incommensurate. One is an affair of trade, the other of sentiment. But the latter is a potent factor even in this commercial age, and it looks as though the most dissatisfied party in respect to this por-

¹ London *Mail* (Times), June 30, 1890.

tion of the agreement will be found in the nation that is commonly supposed to be most ruled by the interests of trade.

The possession of Heligoland, to continue a little our digression from the map of Africa, does not appear to be regarded by any pronounced authority as of much importance, either for war or for commerce. The Germans want it because it is on their coast — though some thirty miles away. The English grudge its transfer because it involves hauling down their flag. Beyond this, of what significance is the little island to either party? It is, however, a picturesque and interesting bit of sand and rock. A writer in the London "Times" gives a graphic description of it, which is too long for quotation, but from which we condense a few statements, retaining mostly the author's language.

' There are two parts of the island, between which the sea has made a breach, a low sand-bank on the eastern end used by bathers, and a precipitous rock of red stone with a small beach for a landing-place and a quaint town nestling beneath the steep rock, with neat-looking houses largely composed of wood, with painted verandahs in front. All the streets are extremely narrow, with few exceptions not much more than two yards wide, and are made of brick and tile, with gutters on either side. Everywhere we see the announcement "Logis," or lodgings, for the islanders live chiefly by letting apartments. The restaurants are large, and clean to a degree, and this is the characteristic feature of the houses and people. The upper town, built on the top of the rock, is reached by means of 375 steps, or by a lift. Once on the rock we see the cottages of the poorer people, who are chiefly fishermen. Before each cottage are strings of haddock, cod, ling, and other fish hung up in rows to dry for consumption in the winter; also a tank to catch the rain-fall from the roof. The inhabitants are a sober and well-behaved people; not teetotallers, though strictly moderate. Their usual plan is to sip a small quantity of schnapps, to be followed immediately by a draught of lager beer as they eat their bread and cheese. The young people never walk arm in arm until they are betrothed. This is a most solemn act publicly announced. Owing to the fewness of the houses and the want of space to build new ones, the young couple court for years, and on the decease of a householder they begin housekeeping on their own account. Marriage cancels every other engagement, so that there can be no breach of promise brought against a man when once he is married. There is no lawyer on the island and but three policemen. The small prison rarely has an inmate, for the inhabitants do not care to pay for his board. There is a cottage hospital and a poor-house. Horses or donkeys would be useless, but there are eight cows and about thirty sheep tethered and milked. The chief amusement of the islanders is found in the dance-house, which is open on Sunday evening (their Sabbath begins at six P. M. on Saturday, when the bell is tolled, and ends at the same hour on Sunday), and once during the week, except in the season, when it is open

every night. Young girls are admitted when they are fourteen, and with their parents assemble in the large square dance-house free of charge. Visitors pay 3d. to enter and 1s. if they dance the whole evening, or 1½d. for each single dance, which is very short, and if the national dance is desired the one who calls for it pays three shillings. The natives pay much less for the evening's amusement. They all come in their ordinary clothes, by twos and threes, and depart in like manner. There is a Lutheran church built of red brick, with a wooden tower to match. The men sit in the gallery and the women in the body of the church, with their names painted on the seats, and with spring cushions to sit upon. There are about fifty oil paintings on the panels of the gallery, representing the chief events of Scriptural history, beginning at the Creation and ending at the shipwreck of St. Paul. There is also a painting of Luther and of three deceased ministers. Two models of ships in full sail are suspended in the church. Within the communion rail is a bronze font standing on four feet shaped as figures of females, and probably cast out of bell metal. This is said to have been on the island nine hundred years, and at the usual time for baptism a number of little girls form a procession around it and contribute each a small mug of water. The churchyard is well kept, with a few tombstones only, the chief memorial being an iron or wooden cross. The poor and the stranger find sepulture on the side of the small yard where the sun never shines.

Mr. Stanley compares Heligoland — its eight cows and thirty sheep — with Pemba, a garden of something like twenty thousand acres, and Zanzibar, whose trade with the British Empire amounts to two million pounds sterling. The balance in favor, we suspect, cannot thus be made up. Good-will is of some account. However we may estimate, it is enough that Germany wants the wild and picturesque rock 'facing' her ocean and 'guarding' her rivers, and that England may deem its transfer an essential constituent of a compact in which as a whole she may well rejoice.

This brings us to our map again. Let us look for a moment at the territory opened to England north of the German sphere. We are indebted here to the same issue of the "Mail" (Times) before cited, particularly to a communication on "The Geography of the Anglo-German Agreement."

The English sea-coast, in this territory, extends to the mouth of the river Juba, or nearly to the Equator. This secures the adjacent islands, some harbors of value, and entire control of the river Tana. Most of all, it is a pledge that England will be left free in extending her influence down the river Nile, whose ultimate sources are now discovered and are all, apparently, within her line. More than 600,000 square miles of territory are directly assigned to her, running back some nine hundred miles to the Congo State. For about two hundred and fifty miles

inland the country may be of little worth, but beyond, it embraces regions capable of great industrial development. Especially valuable are the territories of Uganda, Ankori, Unyoro on the lake plateau, and countries still further north. They are described as "among the most favored regions of the world in beauty and variety of landscape, abundance of water, richness of vegetation, and fertility of soil." If a railroad should be built, within the British sphere, from Mombasa to the Victoria lake, a distance of 410 miles, it is calculated that "with the exception of 120 miles at Uganda and 50 miles at Dufflé," England would be "in steam communication with the Soudan, able whenever it might suit us to occupy Khartoum, where, by cutting off their river communications, we could render the concentration of the Dervishes impossible should the Mahdist agitation again menace us." Mr. Stanley characterizes the vast table-land now placed under English control by the epithets "magnificent" and "glorious," and represents it as colonizable by British people, and as opening "enormous possibilities of enterprise to expand towards the north over the entire Nile valley, past Khartoum, Berber, down to Cairo and Alexandria."

South of the German line the English recognize the Portuguese possessions on the coast from Cape Delgado to Delagoa Bay. How far the principle of *Hinter-land* is to be applied in this belt is undetermined. One result, however, is assured, the English have a clear tract "from the Rovuma across the Zambesi through Matabele and Bechuanaland right down to the Cape." Taking into view European treaty adjustments alone, it may be said, therefore, that England has secured a sphere of influence through the heart of Africa from the Cape to the Soudan, possibly to the Mediterranean, with but one break, the German territory, and across this her subjects are guaranteed a right of way.

A sphere of influence is something very different from possession and government. Yet this sudden opening of Africa from north to south, and through the Congo State from east to west, to a controlling influence from Christian states, and especially from England and Germany, is an event which can only be compared in importance with the discovery and colonization of America. In its appeal to the Christian Church it transcends that event. The native inhabitants of North America were inaccessible to missions and they have mostly disappeared. It was long before much more than the sea-board of America was occupied by colonists. Now the interior of Africa is suddenly thrown open, and in vast regions where white men can live there are great and flourishing populations, likely to be permanent owners of the soil. Beyond all opportunities for commerce, for trade, for colonization, is the opportunity for missionary conquests, and the extension of the kingdom of Christ.

Since the preceding summary was prepared, the text of the Agreement has been published, as signed at Berlin, July 1. We quote from Arti-

cle I. the demarcation of German territory in East Africa, both for the sake of precision and because some changes appear to have been made at the close of the negotiations.

"In East Africa, the sphere in which the exercise of influence is reserved to Germany, is bounded, —

"1. To the north by a line, which, commencing on the coast at the north bank of the mouth of the river Umba, runs direct to Lake Jipé; passes thence along the eastern side and round the northern side of the lake, and crosses the river Lumé; after which it passes midway between the territories of Taveita and Chagga, skirts the northern base of the Kilima-Njaro range, and thence is drawn direct to the point on the eastern side of Lake Victoria Nyanza, which is intersected by the first parallel of south latitude; thence, crossing the lake on that parallel, it follows the parallel to the frontier of the Congo Free State, where it terminates.

"It is, however, understood that, on the west side of the lake, the sphere does not comprise Mount Mfumbiro; if that mountain shall prove to lie to the south of the selected parallel, the line shall be deflected so as to exclude it, but shall, nevertheless, return so as to terminate at the above-named point.

"2. To the south by a line which, starting on the coast at the northern limit of the province of Mozambique, follows the course of the river Rovuma to the point of confluence of the Msinge; thence it runs westward along the parallel of that point till it reaches Lake Nyassa; thence striking northward, it follows the eastern, northern, and western shores of the lake to the northern bank of the mouth of the river Songwe; it ascends that river to the point of its intersection by the thirty-third degree of east longitude; thence it follows the river to the point where it approaches most nearly the boundary of the geographical Congo Basin defined in the 1st Article of the Act of Berlin, as marked in the map attached to the 9th protocol of the conference.

"From that point it strikes direct to the above-named boundary, and follows it to the point of its intersection by the thirty-second degree of east longitude, from which point it strikes direct to the point of confluence of the northern and southern branches of the river Kilambo, and thence follows that river till it enters Lake Tanganyika.

"The course of the above boundary is traced in general in accordance with a map of the Nyassa-Tanganyika plateau, officially prepared for the British government in 1889.

"3. To the west by a line which, from the mouth of the river Kilambo, to the first parallel of south latitude, is continuous with the Congo Free State."

Provision is made for such "rectification by agreement" of the lines defined in the treaty, as "local requirements" may prescribe.

The Xth Article provides that "in all territories in Africa belonging to, or under the influence of, either power, missionaries of both countries shall have full protection. Religious toleration and freedom for all forms of divine worship and religious teaching are guaranteed."

A SEQUEL TO THE WEST AFRICAN CONFERENCE OF 1884-1885.

IN editorial articles which appeared in the February and April numbers of this "Review" for the year 1885 an account was given of the proceedings of the Berlin Conference which defined the commercial area of the Congo, extending it across the continent; and declared that all nations shall enjoy within it freedom of trade, and are bound to the extent of their sovereignty or influence to care for the moral as well as the material improvement and well-being of its native populations. "The West African Conference," we remarked, "has won for itself an honorable place in the history of human progress."

The agreement between England and Germany, on which we have commented elsewhere, is to a great degree an indirect result of this Conference, particularly in its attention to interior boundaries, and in the conditions of trade which have given rise to it. For the Berlin Conference was the first marked and international response to the discoveries which were bringing to view the interior of Africa. It practically by its influence set up the Congo Free State, and in this and other ways stimulated the commercial activity which now requires a settlement of territorial claims not only on the coasts, but in all the regions behind.

A more direct indication of its beneficent influence and a more legitimate successor has appeared in the recent Conference at Brussels. The proposed treaty to which we have referred is only an agreement between two of the fourteen Powers which met in Berlin. The Belgian Conference was attended by representatives of all the governments that participated in the preceding one, and by three others, Persia, Zanzibar, and the Congo Free State. It was particularly occupied, also, with questions arising from the action, especially the humanitarian declarations, of the Berlin Conference.

This body not only affirmed the general principle of national responsibility for the well-being of the native races in Africa, but, in its acts, pledged the Powers to efforts for the suppression of the slave trade and of slavery, and recognized the principle, though in a compromising and impotent way, of a control of the liquor traffic for the protection of the natives and in the interest of "the rights of humanity."

In March, 1889, the English House of Commons adopted a preamble and resolution declaring that:—

"In view of the present increasing and extending desolations of Africa caused by the slave trade, and also of the large responsibilities which European nations have now assumed in respect to that continent, the time had come when full and complete effect should be given to those declarations against the slave trade which were delivered by the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and by the Conference at Verona in 1822:—

"That therefore an humble address be presented to her majesty that she will be graciously pleased to take steps to ascertain whether the Powers signatory are willing to meet in conference for the purpose of devising such

measures for its repression as may at the same time be effective and in accordance with justice and under the regulations of international law."

In consequence of this action the English government suggested to King Leopold the convocation of a conference of the European powers to deliberate concerning measures for the more effectual repression of the slave trade. Consenting to this proposal the king invited to his capital all the signatories to the Berlin Declaration, together with representatives of the Congo State. The Conference met November 18, 1889, and practically closed July 2, 1890, when its result was signed by all the Powers represented, excepting Turkey and Holland. Six months were given to them in which they may sign. The delay on the part of Turkey appears to be merely a characteristic manifestation of its habitual dilatoriness. That of Holland is explained by the power of its manufacturers of spirituous liquors. It is delaying, inexcusably and disgracefully, the adoption of the Act of the Conference, but is not likely to be able to defeat or frustrate it.

The General Act of the Conference deals mainly with the slave trade in its three branches — the inland traffic, the maritime, and the slave markets; with the liquor traffic; with the sale of ammunition and fire-arms; and with the regulation of customs in the Congo State. The trade in liquors and arms and the question of duties on imports came before the Conference only subordinately to the purpose for which it was convened, the provision of more effective agencies and methods against the slave trade.

One of the chief difficulties in destroying this infamous traffic has been the persistent refusal of the French to grant the right of search of vessels flying their flag. The result is that any "Arab dhow," laden with slaves, when pursued, runs up the French colors and is thereby protected from visitation. The first labor of the Conference was to remove this obstacle. The result was a compromise. France agreed that within a carefully defined zone the right of visit and search should be conceded in the case of sailing vessels under 500 tons burthen. The terms "visit" and "search" are, however, avoided, and the terms "supervision" and "detention" are employed. It is understood that if the tonnage stipulation proves to have set too low a limit it may be raised. France also agrees to a much more rigorous system of registering vessels, and to other supervisory measures designed to put an end to the abuse of her flag.

The inland traffic is intimately connected with the use of liquors and fire-arms. The author of a digest of the proceedings of the Conference in the "Times" states that the importation of muskets and rifles into Zanzibar alone amounts to from 80,000 to 100,000 annually. These are largely disused European arms, and are sold in Europe for four or five shillings each. The Arab slave hunters armed with these weapons easily subdue and capture their victims. The French favored an absolute pro-

hibition of the sale of fire-arms to the natives throughout Africa. But the interests of trade were found to be too great for so radical a measure. Other considerations also had weight, and an intermediary policy was agreed upon. A limited zone is defined, covering the territory exposed to the slave hunters, within which prohibition is the rule, but with important exceptions. Either of the signatory Powers can, under certain regulative conditions, import what it desires.

The restrictions imposed upon the traffic in spirituous liquors are less satisfactory. Prohibition is agreed to in respect to tribes where importation is not yet begun, but in all other cases a trifling duty only is imposed. The English and French governments united in strenuous efforts to secure a duty on foreign and native alcoholic liquors which would be restrictive, but failed in their endeavor. They proposed a tax of 200 francs per hectolitre, which was reduced to 50 francs, and then to 15. The final result is said to be that "whereas a quart of alcohol can be had in Africa at present for 2½d. it will henceforth cost 4d." Even this restriction, however, is a gain on the conclusion reached at Berlin, and the matter cannot stop where it is. The agitation which has accomplished this much will go on, and we hope with fresh courage and insistency. Fortunately three years hence the question whether the duty shall be increased comes up anew for decision. This presents a definite object to work for.

The representatives of Holland, or shall we say, the representatives of its gin producers, pleaded the agreement at Berlin that all import dues shall be prohibited in the Congo basin for twenty years. They seem not to have weighed as carefully the obligations into which their government entered, "to watch over the preservation of the native tribes and to care for the improvement of the conditions of their moral and material well-being and to help in suppressing slavery, and especially the slave trade." And apart from any technical constructions, or questions of conceded rights, are the increased moral obligations which arise with the augmented proofs of the curse of the liquor traffic in its direct effects and in its connection with the horrible outrages and miseries of the slave trade. Into the further general question of what modification the unexpectedly rapid development of the Congo State requires in the Berlin agreement, it is beyond our province to enter. We note only, and with satisfaction, the necessity of its being mooted.

The slave trade can only be extinguished with the abolition of slavery. The third branch of discussion at Brussels was therefore the slave markets. The extinction of slavery in the United States, it has been said, destroyed the market for slaves from Western Africa. The present problem is how to accomplish the same result for Eastern Africa. The Sultan of Zanzibar has proclaimed a decree against slavery. The protectorate of England will reinforce the decree. The well informed writer to whom we have referred attaches some importance to the presence in

the Conference of the representatives of Eastern Powers, Turkey, Persia, and Zanzibar. Increased effort may thus be excited to enforce existing laws against slavery. As respects the slave trade, we omitted to notice some provisions of the Conference which, if they take effect, are likely to prove highly useful. An "International Maritime Bureau" is to be established at Zanzibar for the purpose of information concerning the traffic; a special department is to be created in the Belgian Foreign Office for the same purpose; and "Liberation Bureaux" are to be organized "for the delivery of certificates of freedom, the protection of liberated slaves, and the procuring of means of livelihood for them in the territories of the contracting States."

Should the agreements of this Conference be carried out it will have conferred a great blessing upon Africa. No ordinary intelligence, patience, and skill were required to bring so many diverse Powers to such a measure of agreement. It is a fit successor to the Conference of 1884 and 1885.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

THE attention of America is still directed to Delphi and to the proposed excavations by our countrymen on this shrine of shrines. The indispensable condition is the raising of eighty thousand dollars to compensate the villagers for removal. It was hoped that the entire amount would have been subscribed by the first of June. Since disappointment met the committee in this, it is the more gratifying that the Greek government has extended the time, and Dr. Waldstein has undertaken the work of collecting the purchase-money. We bespeak for him the warmest welcome from men of wealth. It is in the power of American gold now to unlock treasures of art which will be beyond price in the delight of the traveler and in the education of humanity. Such a door of opportunity can never open again. We congratulate in advance the millionaire who enters it.

Dr. Waldstein wrote at the end of last winter, from the American school at Athens, of the discoveries at Lycosura. These were statues described by the traveler Pausanias and executed by the artist Damophon. Of this sculptor, the contemporary of Praxiteles, and the restorer of Phidias' statue of Olympian Zeus, no work was extant. His superb technique and lofty religious spirit lived only in tradition. That an original work of so great a genius should have been recovered in the ruins of a temple in Arcadia is indeed an unprecedented piece of good fortune. The director general of excavations in Greece may well exult over the exquisite workmanship of the hundred fragments unearthed. The figures on the base were four. From Pausanias they are easily identified and arranged. "Demeter and Despoina were seated on thrones in the centre, with Anytus and Artemis standing on either side." The artist must have been a sculptor of the ideal, breathing the high spirit of the century of Marathon when Marathon was but a memory. We are not surprised that Dr. Waldstein ranks the find, with the Sidon sarcophagi, as the most important since the Hermes of Praxiteles.

An archæological work of quite another description is the History of Alexander the Great, by Mr. Budge. This is the Syriac version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes. Two of the five manuscripts from which this celebrated book is edited are the property of the American Oriental Society. Among its contents the critics note especially, (1) Aristotle's letter to Alexander about the building of the city of Alexandria; (2) the text of Alexander's will. The Egyptologist cannot fail to remark the author's account of the Egyptian origin of the Alexander legend, including the extract from an unpublished papyrus of the British Museum in the hieroglyphic text. Accompanying this is a discussion of the Armenian, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Ethiopic, Coptic, and other versions of the fabulous history of the great conqueror.

Not the sword, however, but the plough, in the Syria that now is, is the more interesting. "The Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins," vol. xii., No. 3, furnishes us this desirable information. It is in an illustrated sketch by Mr. Schumacher. The peasantry call the plough '*aud-ehrüt*'. Its parts are seven: 1. The cross-bar on which the ploughman leans his left hand, *el-kabüsi*. 2. The plough-tail, *ed-däkar*, which, prolonged, becomes the share-beam, shod with 7, *es-sikki*, the plough-share. Connecting No. 2, the plough-tail, and No. 3, the plough-tree, *el buruk*, is 4, *en-nuteh*, a brace mortised into both. 5, *es-sauüdschir*, couples the plough-tree with 6, *el-wusli*, the plough-beam. The plough-share has a sharpened steel tip. In length it is sixty or seventy centimeters, in width thirty. The plough, from the end of the beam to the point of the share (*wusli*) measures 2.50 meters. The crosspiece of the handle, when in use, is about eighty centimeters from the ground. The Galilean peasant has to pay forty-six piasters for an oaken plough of this sort, increased by thirty piasters, if a good ploughshare is included. In the seed-time the mender of ploughs establishes himself in some village. To him the fellahin flock, and go away, plough on shoulder, singing: "A master, indeed. He has no peer. By the righteousness of God he knows everything."

This is entirely in the vein commended by Major Conder in his recent work on Palestine. We quite agree with him that "inquiries should be organized from sympathetic residents of the Holy Land." The complete Fellah vocabulary of Syria would be of incalculable worth. "To this vocabulary," he rightly says, "should be added every legend, song, proverb, or mythical tale that can be gathered, and every custom noted. The charms and amulets worn, the burial, birth, and marriage rites, the common oaths and salutations, the peasant's ideas of etiquette and ceremony, — every one of these has an unknown scientific value."

The question whether modern Egyptian tales can be traced to an ancient Egyptian origin has been answered in the negative by Mr. Renouf. Whatever is common to both is non-Egyptian. "Life depends on something external to the body," in the Tale of the Two Brothers. The same is true of the Russian Koshchei the Deathless. "My death," he says, "is in such and such a place. There stands an oak, and under the oak a casket, and in the casket is a hare, and in the hare is a duck, and in the duck is an egg, and in the egg is my death." Prince Ivan went forth to look for Koshchei's death, and having at last secured the egg, smashed it, and Koshchei the deathless died. But this is one only of many parallels. Folk-lore has been propagated in three great streams, — through the Buddhist missionaries, the Jewish dispersions, and the Gypsies.

It is well known that the camel does not appear on the ancient Egyptian monuments. Was it introduced into Africa so late as the third century of the Christian era? Victor Hehn so thinks. The presumption would seem to be the other way in case of a beast of burden so adapted to the desert and so much used in adjoining countries. Rev. Mr. Houghton has brought forward conclusive evidence of the camel's presence in Egypt under Ptolemy Philadelphus in the third century before Christ. Here he draws from Strabo. Esarhaddon's Assyrian inscriptions show us the camel penetrating into Egypt four centuries earlier, if only for a single campaign. To these indications are to be added one or two Egyptian words, which are to be understood, with a high degree of probability, of the same useful animal. The words occur in texts of the Ramesside period and before, which speak of the locality from which the camel comes, of the burden he bears, and of the flesh he furnishes for food. *Kamari* or *Kamali* is the reading. It is based on Chabas and Brugsch. What is intrinsically probable, and asserted in Genesis xii. 16, xxxvii. 25, and Exodus ix. 3, would seem amply confirmed by the language of the Egyptian monuments.

The New York Tribune of June 21st contains the following, which Biblical chronologists will sift at their leisure. After many years of close calculation brought at last to a successful issue, Professor Totten of Yale announces that he has identified the conjunction of the sun and moon, which marked Joshua's long day. Reckoning back from the present new moon, June, 1890, the Beth-horon conjunction took place in midheavens at 11.13 A. M., exactly 3,435 full lunar years ago; or reckoning forward anno mundi, it happened at the winter solstice of 2555 A. M. which was the 365th Sabbatic year, and this in fact, when properly understood, is the key to the whole system of lunar chronology followed by the ancient nations. Mr. Totten thinks it absolutely certain that the guardians of the Hebrew calendar must have then and there intercalated a single week-day. This he identifies as Wednesday, the 933,286th day of the world.

It has been well said in the March number of the "Zeitschrift für Assyriologie," by Zimmern, that it is a fortunate coincidence that Jensen's book on the Cosmology, and Epping's on the Astronomy, of Babylon, should have appeared simultaneously. They supplement and corroborate one another. What one from the standpoint of philology makes probable, the other from the standpoint of science makes certain. No realm is more interesting than the signs of the zodiac. Of the identity of results here Jensen says, "The twelve characters which Epping found for the signs of the zodiac: KU, TI, MAŠ (read NAN-GAR), PULUG, A, KI (ABSIN or KI + DIL), BIR, GIR, PA (read rather SAH) Assyrian ~~𐎶𐎵~~, GU, ZIB, stand as follows in my Cosmology. p. 310 ff. 317 A: Ku[sarikku], Alpu (?), Tuāmu, Pulukku, A[rū], Abšīnu, Zibanitu, Akrabu, PA[-BIL-SAG], Inzu, GU(?) and Nunu, They mean the Ram, the Bull, the Twins . . . the Lion, Corn in Ear, the Claws, the Scorpion, Goat, Fish." Of the Goat-Fish, which is continuous with our Capricorn, Mr. Robert Brown furnishes a picture taken from a Euphratean boundary-stone. It represents the solar goat struggling up and out of the abyss, between the gates of the dawn. In ultimate analysis Nebo and Capricorn seem identical.

Less abstruse but not less instructive are the musical instruments of the Metropolitan Museum of New York. This unique collection has

given rise to a unique catalogue. By this it seems that the *sono koto* is the chief instrument of Japan. It is tuned like the old Greek scale of Olympus, with its thirteen strings. This is surpassed in sentiment by the Hindu *vina*, which is the ancient Sanskrit instrument. If India be not the author of the violin bow, it is the author of sympathetic strings so replete with charm and imagination. Arabia too has done scarcely less for art than for science in the European world. The Arab music, indeed, as originally Persian, may retain some vestige of Babylonian melody. Dr. Land was Arabist and musician both. In the "Proceedings of the Sixth Session of the International Congress of Orientalists," may be found his "*Recherches sur l'histoire de la gamme arabe.*" There he shows the old Arab stopping of the *rabāb* and lute was effected by applying the index finger to produce a note a whole tone higher than the open string, the ring finger another whole tone higher, and the little finger a semitone yet higher, thus obtaining the interval of a fourth above the open string.

In the West, as in the East, there are characteristic instruments of music. The medicine men are the bards of their tribes. Mr. W. Adams Brown delineates the various stages of musical culture among different Indian races. He says, "The rude natives of Alaska content themselves with rattles and drums. Going southward we strike wind instruments. The Haidas of the west coast of British America have a great variety of rude wooden pipes and flutes. Among the Sioux or Dakotas we find flageolets with six or seven finger-holes. Their orchestral performances are elaborate. The Apaches possess a rude violin with one string, while the Pueblos of New Mexico are contented chiefly with instruments of percussion."

The Babylonian seals of the Metropolitan Museum are among its most notable treasures. Dr. Hayes Ward, their collector and curator, has made himself an authority of the first rank in the recondite field they touch. This gives his paper on "Babylonian Mythology as illustrated by Babylonian Art," at the May meeting of the Oriental Society, unusual weight. He finds Shamash, where others have found Izdhubar, on the seals. This God of the fertilizing waters is represented with fish, and with streams pouring from his shoulders. The Abu-Habba tablet has the emblems of the undoubted sun-god in four streams crossing a circle. There the deity rides not on the lower but on the upper waters near which the stars of heaven are shining.

Have we traces of solar worship in Ohio as well as in Sippara? So Professor Putnam of the Peabody Museum of Harvard seems disposed to conclude, if we may judge from his remarkable article in the April Century. By pen and picture he makes visible the serpent, upwards of 1,200 feet in length, with the egg in his jaws. The skeletons and charred remains of man and implement hint to him of human sacrifice. The very site of the great altar looking along the convolutions of the sinuous mound to the east suggests a solar worship. In short, we have associated "the several symbols which in Asia would be accepted without question as showing the place to be a phallo-solar shrine combined with the serpent faith." In view of the tremendous religious import of this primeval relic we cannot be too grateful to the women of Boston who bought, and the State of Ohio which exempted from taxation, the land on which it lies. May it continue to live, not merely as though the great effigy were a serpent indeed, uncoiling itself slowly and creeping

stealthily along the crest of the hill, but as a missionary of archæological research, of man's antiquity, and of comparative religion.

There could hardly be a more timely suggestion for the Columbian exhibition than that of the foregoing eminent archæologist. Professor Putnam would have the native races of America and their dwellings collected for the scrutiny of the world. He would better the attraction of the French Exposition in the reproduction of human habitations from primitive to classical times. The complete ethnological museums which Cambridge, New York, and even Washington have but begun, can be finished by Chicago. Now is the time for the preliminary explorations, reaching from the Arctic Circle to Terra del Fuego. Actual dwellings can be transported. Models may be built by the elders of the tribe. The prehistoric earthworks of the Ohio valley and elsewhere should be copied from surveys and sketches. There should be skeletons of the mammoth and mastodon, contemporary with ancient man on the American continent, and restorations and paintings showing the probable conditions of the borderers of the great ice-sheet in contrast with their civilized successors in the same locality. The implements of stone, the art relics, the vestiges of manners and customs, the skulls and skeletons of the representatives of the peoples living on the continent when it was discovered by Columbus, should be grouped on a grand scale. To all this should be added during the exposition representatives of the native tribes both of North and South America; and of all the American peoples there should be accurate models made from casts taken and colored from life, and dressed in native costumes. Such a museum would be more than an impressive picture. It would be a scientific education to every visitor.

Few persons are aware how rapidly archæological museums are multiplying and broadening in our land. That of the University of Pennsylvania began in December, 1889, with a few stone implements. To-day it numbers 10,000 objects illustrating the early civilization of America. The Peabody Museum of Harvard teems with tools, paleolithic and neolithic. The fossils of Yale University are known across the seas. Andover's Palestinian Museum may one day be as famous as Andover's theology. Princeton's magnificent collection of pottery and porcelain is opening its doors. And now Cambridge has received \$10,000 from Mr. Schiff, for a Museum of Semitic Antiquities, which provokes the editor of the "*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*" to mingled admiration and bitterness, by its contrast with the wretched pittance drawn painfully by science from Europe. The Ashurnasirbal slabs too, belonging to the New York Historical Society, have been awakened from their repose by Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., who reminds us that they came from the Boston Athenæum in 1858, through the liberality of James Lenox.

In Palestine there has been introduced a discoverer indeed, in the person of Mr. Petrie. The April quarterly statement made known the fact that this accomplished excavator was already in Syria. A firman had been secured authorizing work at Khurbet 'Aglân, the Egion of Joshua. It is to be hoped that 1890 will add much to 1889 in knowledge of the Holy Land. We should be grateful for the fresco of an angel troubling the water at the Pool of Bethesda, for the rock-hewn chambers on the eastern slope of Zion, and for the human figures of the Saris cave, resembling the proto-Phœnician rock-sculptures near Tyre. The inscription of the last is thought to be old-Phœnician. Dr. Merrill mentions a

coney taken in a village of Lebanon where the Hyrax Syriacus, according to Dr. Tristram, is not known. Mr. H. A. Harper, who published, in December, his "Bible and Modern Discoveries," tells of some "supposed early British lamps" in Dorchester. He would make these old Jewish. Indeed it seemed to him the traditions were true that captive Jews had worked in the mines of Cornwall and on the fortifications, and among their poor possessions clung to these old lamps.

"Mr. Petrie in the Fayûm," is the name of an excellent paper by the Rev. James Johnston, in the "Sunday School Times" of May 10. It is refreshing to turn from the king to the workingmen who reared his shrine twenty-six centuries before Christ. This town of the twelfth dynasty was a quadrangle with straight parallel streets 150 feet long. The houses were without windows but had arched doors. The better dwellings contained a stone tank in the center and wooden columns round the four sides. On the capital of one was the palm-leaf, centuries before it blossomed into stone. Rude frescoes and banded dadoes were to be seen on the walls. Through the centre of the street water flowed as in open sewers.

The remains of this interesting town — Kahun — preserved by the dry sand, embrace a wide range of interesting objects. At one moment we see the fire-stick of the Australian aborigines. The next we come upon an ape, carved in ivory, to be likened only to the exquisite Italian art of the Renaissance. Flint, copper, and pottery indicate early contact with foreigners. "The pre-Hellenic culture is thus carried back another long way, and Mykenæ and Tiryns were not the first steps in Ægean civilization."

The "Academy" of May 31 has a piquant letter from the same explorer, condemning much of "Perrot and Chipiez on the art of Judæa." He finds fault that the most characteristic and remarkable specimens of such art are entirely ignored. Such is the fine façade and sculpture of the Tombs of the Kings. "The only piece of early architecture yet known — Ramet-el-Khalil — is not even mentioned." What have we instead? The ideas of M. Chipiez as to the ideal Temple of Ezekiel! One smiles involuntarily at the Jachin and Boaz as hypothetically restored, of which "the shafts are very French and the capitals suggest a triumph of a Parisian modiste in head-gear." Attention is called to the description of Gaza scenery in summer as an amusing draft on the imagination. Mr. Petrie would give a great deal to see "clear brooks running through grassy plots or breaking in falls over immense boulders" in this dry and thirsty land. The glass bottle "made too by an Israelite for an Israelite" is identical with one of Roman age found in the Roman cemetery of Hassara! The author should have consulted the collections of Baron d'Ustinoff and of the Russian Patriarch at Jerusalem for Judean glass. When any one can get photographs of the original sculptures for a few pence, it is too late to reproduce Champollion's and Lepsius's drawing of Hittite and Sardinian.

The word Hittite, however, suggests praise. There was great need of a volume assembling the scattered material concerning this mysterious people, and that to the eye. This Perrot and Chipiez have done admirably. The chapter on the history and writings of the Hittites emphasizes the spread westward of Oriental civilization by overland routes. Three other chapters group the eastern Hittites of North Syria and the western Hittites of Asia Minor with a due sense of perspective in treating of the influential monuments of the latter. The final chapter sums

up the character of their civilization with a French lucidity and brilliancy of generalization. The illustrations transport the reader to the Marsh coney with pricking ears and the Marsh lion with yawning mouth. Thanks to them we stand in person by the tiaraed figures on the backs of animals, and the solemn files on the walls of Boghaz Kuei, adumbrating the Panathenaic procession. There is a bold drawing of the conical rocks of Uteh-Hissar in Southern Cappadocia which, according to Sayce, suggested the ideograph for king and country according as it was used once or twice. There is a vigorous portrait of the god of Ibreez, with bearded wheat and purple cluster, and of the rocks and rushes of Eflatoun-Bounar, with men in short tunics and turned-up shoes. Not the least of the merits of the book is the heartiness of its tribute to Professor Sayce for his progressiveness, receptiveness, and vivacity as a popularizer of the theory identifying the Hittites and their script.

According to this survivor of a bite from the Egyptian asp, medical science in Egypt was far in advance of what it was in Babylonia. On the Euphrates the incantation lingered. On the Nile the prescription prevailed. The great school of physicians was at Heliopolis, where Joseph married and Moses studied. One of the most wonderful medical treatises was the Papyrus Ebers with its lotions for eye, for head, and for hair. "In its system of human physiology we may almost see a foreshadowing of the doctrine of the circulation of the blood." The Babylonian looked on disease more largely as a matter of demoniacal possession. They had a rational therapeutics no doubt. But even the most cultured could not shake off their bias toward exorcisms. For himself and his dear ones in the hour of sickness there was a charm in the opening words of the magic texts, "The sickness of the entrails, a sick heart, faintness of the heart disease, disease of the bile . . . violent vomiting . . . disease of the kidneys . . . a dream of ill omen — conjure, O Spirit of heaven, conjure, O Spirit of earth." In Egypt, before Moses, medicine had become comparatively scientific.

The destruction of antiquities in the East has been raging with uninterrupted vigor. In Egypt, the mummy of Amenophis III., the heretic king of Tel el-Amarna, has been unearthed only to be torn to pieces by human wolves. More havoc has been wrought on paintings and tombs the last three months than during the last half century. The society to protect them has been a dam of bulrushes. Mr. Robert F. Harper, of Yale, in the April "Hebraica," shows that this process is going on among the monuments of the Assyrians and Hittites. Fanaticism, greed, and ignorance combine. The statues of Carchemish are shattered into millstones, and the tablets of Jumjuma flung upon cellar floors.

On the whole there would seem to be a call to work up the material already amassed from the Orient. The Oriental congress should cease to quarrel between London and Oxford as a site of its next meeting. Oppert's reading of Tin as *anaku* from an Accadian fire hymn of 5,000 years ago, should be made to throw light on the age of bronze. Professor Wrights' artesian idol of Idaho, described in the February "Scribner," must be cross-examined till we know whether the geologist has put the lava beds too far back or the archæologist has put man too far forward. The Musée Guimet, with its treasures of Oriental religions, must be studied in the light of the language, the traditions, the relics, the worship of the aboriginal races of America. The Summer School of the Western must be the interpreter of the Eastern Continent.

John Phelps Taylor.

SOCIAL ECONOMICS.

THE OUTLINE OF AN ELECTIVE COURSE OF STUDY IN THREE PARTS.

PART II. THE TREATMENT OF CRIME AND OF THE CRIMINAL CLASSES.

THE order of the advance of society in the treatment of crime and of the criminal classes is indicated in the topics which follow in alternate numbers of the Review. See *February number*.

TOPIC 3. GRADATION IN PUNISHMENT.

REFERENCES.

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 Maine. Ancient Law, chap. ii., on Legal Fictions.
 Jeremy Bentham's Works. Vol. I., chap. on Principles of Penal Law.
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 Life of Sir James Mackintosh. 2 vols.
 Hepworth Dixon's Life of John Howard.

NOTES.

Of the three ends of punishment — the satisfaction of justice, the protection of society, and the reformation of the criminal — the last end has but recently come into view. Punishment has been the designed or undesigned expression of the public justice, or has been devised with reference to the protection of society. We must look to one or both of these sources for the explanation of punishments which seem, in the light of present reforms, almost incredible. The history of punishment is in effect a history of horrors, but such was not the original intent. There is a *philosophy of punishment*. Even the crudest forms have their meaning.

Punishments may be classified according to the attempt through them to satisfy the sense of justice or to protect society.

1. *To the attempt to satisfy the sense of justice may be attributed —*

(1) *The allowance of the spirit of vengeance in the earlier forms of punishment.* The earlier and cruder punishments are immediately inflicted. The element of passion is allowed to enter into the infliction. Punishment is graded by its nearness to the act of wrongdoing. A thief may be killed if caught in the act or overtaken, but not afterwards. Restraint comes in with delay. Hence the appointment of cities of refuge under the Hebrew code, and the adoption of the right of sanctuary in the Middle Ages.

(2) *The endeavor to create a correspondence between a crime and its punishment.* The earliest formula is "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth" — punishment in kind as well as in degree. It is life for life, or limb for limb. Some of the punishments which seem fanciful or grotesque have this explanation, like ducking for scolding. Others are singularly fit in their correspondence, like flogging for wife-beating. Others seek

to make the punishment correspond in enormity with the crime, as in the ancient punishment for parricide, sewing up the murderer in a bag with poisonous serpents and casting him into the sea; or as seen in the "act for poisoning" passed in England in the early part of the sixteenth century under the sense of horror of the "Italian way of murder," which condemned a poisoner to be boiled to death. Treason had its full penalty in the hanging, drawing, and quartering of the traitor. And heresy, which must be extirpated, called for the burning of the heretic. Wordsworth has explained the punishment for heresy in the same lines in which he has shown its futility, in his sonnet on Wyclif:—

"Once more the Church is seized with sudden fear,
And at her call is Wicliffe disinhumed:
Yea, his dry bones to ashes are consumed
And flung into the brook that travels near;
Forthwith that ancient Voice which Streams can hear
Thus speaks (that Voice which walks upon the wind,
Though seldom heard by busy human kind):
'As thou these ashes, little Brook! wilt bear
Into the Avon, Avon to the tide
Of Severn, Severn to the narrow seas,
Into main Ocean they, this deed accurst
An emblem yields to friends and enemies
How the bold Teacher's Doctrine, sanctified
By truth, shall spread, throughout the world dispersed.'"

(3) *The extreme publicity of punishment*, as in the stocks and pillory for minor offenses, and in the public executions connected with capital cases. The publicity was doubtless for the sake of example and warning and so indirectly for the protection of society, but many of the punishments were made public that the people at large might take part in them, and give expression to their detestation of the crime and of the criminal. The offender who was confined in the stocks was made a target for various missiles, and was not infrequently disfigured for life.

(4) *Indignities upon the body after death*. There was no possible reason for such indignities except the desire to express the utmost detestation. Thus, in spite of the irony of the king's clemency, in the case of Thomas of Lancaster (under Edward II.) who was condemned to be hanged, drawn, and beheaded, but who on account of his high rank was pardoned all except the beheading, there was great moral significance in the revocation of so much of the sentence as had to do with the indignity of the punishment. Compare this case with that of the Earl of Carlisle, who suffered for high treason under the same reign:—

"The award of the Court is that for your treason you be drawn, and hanged, and beheaded; that your heart, and bowels, and entrails, whence came your traitorous thoughts, be torn out, and burnt to ashes, and that the ashes be scattered to the winds; that your body be cut into four quarters, and that one of them be hanged upon the Tower of Carlisle, another upon the Tower of Newcastle, a third upon the Bridge of York, and the fourth at Shrewsbury; and that your head be set upon London Bridge, for an example to others that they may never presume to be guilty of such treasons as yours against their liege lord."—*Hist. of Crime in England*.

2. *To the endeavor to protect society may be attributed—*

(1) *Punishments which aimed at the removal, or restraint of the criminal*. The simplest method of freeing society from the criminal is to destroy him. Hence the frequency of capital punishment for small

offenses. Capital punishment in its gross excess preceded the prison system, which allowed restraint without the taking of life. As late as the close of the seventeenth century the following crimes were capital crimes in England: High treason, petty treason, piracy, murder, arson, burglary, housebreaking and putting in fear, highway robbery, horse stealing, stealing from the person alone to the value of a shilling, rape, and abduction with intent to marry, sheep stealing, and stealing of cattle or domestic animals, except pigs. Pocket-picking did not cease to be a capital offense till 1808, nor sheep-stealing till 1832.

"At the Lent Assizes of 1598, there were 134 prisoners, of whom seventeen were dismissed with the fatal S. P., it being apparently too much trouble to write *sus. per coll.* Twenty were flogged; one was liberated by special pardon and fifteen by general pardon; eleven claimed benefit of clergy, and were consequently branded and set free. At the Epiphany Sessions preceding there were sixty-five prisoners, of whom eighteen were hanged. At Easter there were forty-one prisoners, and twelve of them were executed. At the Midsummer Sessions there were thirty-five prisoners, and eight hanged. At the Autumn Assizes there were eighty-seven on the calendar, and eighteen hanged. At the October Sessions there were twenty-five, of whom only one was hanged. Altogether there were seventy-four persons sentenced to be hanged in one county in a single year, and of these more than one half were condemned at Quarter Sessions." Mr. Hamilton gives a copy of the calendar for the Midsummer Sessions for 1598. It appears that five persons were convicted of sheep-stealing. John Capren was sentenced to death. Stephen Jewell, Andrew Penrose, and Anthony Shilton had their clergy, Gregory Tulman was flogged. In Tulman's case the sheep was probably valued at less, or charged in the indictment as being of less value, than a shilling. If the average number of executions in each county was only twenty, or a little more than a quarter of the number of capital sentences in Devonshire in 1578, this would make 800 executions a year in the forty English counties." — *Hist. of Criminal Law of England*, vol. i., pp. 467, 468.

(2) *Punishments which aimed at disabling the criminal*, like maiming, or (for purposes of identification) branding the criminal. Mutilation is to be distinguished from torture. Torture belongs to the inquisitorial system of trial; mutilation is a form of punishment partly to carry out the principle of "limb for limb," but chiefly to deprive the criminal of the means of farther violence. The following account of the process of legal mutilation will show how elaborate the provisions were for carrying the punishment into effect:—

"The punishment for murder was the same as at the common law; but for merely striking so as to shed blood, the loss of the right hand was the penalty—as it had been for many crimes before the Conquest. The offender, as in cases of murder in the court, was tried before the Lord Great Master, or the Lord Steward of the Household, and when found guilty suffered according to a most remarkable and carefully devised ceremony. He was brought in by the marshal, and every step of the proceedings was under the direction of some member of the royal household. The first whose services were required was the Sergeant of the Wood Yard, who brought in a block and cords, and bound the condemned hand in a convenient position. The Master Cook was there with a dressing knife, which he handed to the Sergeant of the Larder, who adjusted it, and held it till execution was done. The Sergeant of the Poultry was close by with a cock, which was to have its head cut off on the block by the knife used for the amputation of the hand, and the body of which was afterwards used to 'wrap about the stump.' The Yeoman of the Scullery stood near watching a fire of coals, and the Sergeant Farrier at his elbow to deliver the searing irons to the surgeon. The Chief Surgeon seared the

stump, and the Groom of the Salcery held vinegar and cold water to be used, perhaps, if the patient should faint. The Sergeant of the Ewry and the Yeoman of the Chandry attended with basin, cloths, and towels for the surgeon's use. After the hand had been struck off and the stump seared the Sergeant of the Pantry offered bread, and the Sergeant of the Cellar offered a pot of red wine, of which the sufferer was to partake with what appetite he might." — L. Owen Pike, *History of Crime in England*, vol. ii., pp. 83, 84.

(3) *Punishments which aimed at deterring from crime.* To this class are to be referred public executions and public exhibitions, the hanging of the bodies of executed criminals along the highways or the placing of their heads on pikes on bridges, or in parks or other places of public resort. Little or no account seems to have been made of the demoralizing effect of these exhibitions. It was assumed that they would deter from crime.

The amelioration of English criminal law in the matter of punishment began in the appropriation of the ecclesiastical device known as the "benefit of clergy." The privilege of clergy consisted originally in the right of the clergy to be free from the jurisdiction of the secular courts. When one of the clergy — a clerk — was arrested for murder or any other crime, he was detained in the bishop's or king's prison till he had purged himself of the accusation. "Ecclesiastical purgation" was not difficult. And as the benefit of clergy was gradually extended to all secular clerks, and then to all who could read, the administration of justice among the higher classes, except for treason, became a farce. Till 1487 any one who knew how to read might commit murder as often as he pleased with no other result than that of being delivered over to make his purgation; and even after 1487 a man who could read could commit murder once with no other punishment than that of having M branded on the left thumb.

As the benefit of clergy became widely extended, the graver crimes were taken out of the privilege, or, in the language of the courts, were made "non-clergyable." But as the severe laws entailing capital punishment still remained, the device of *transportation* was introduced to take the place of benefit of clergy. Criminals were occasionally transported, but the sentence of transportation was understood to mean, in the majority of cases, a conditional pardon.

The actual reformation of English criminal law in respect to punishment is due chiefly to two men, John Howard (1773-1789) and Sir Samuel Romilly (1808-1819).

Howard introduced those reforms in prison discipline which made capital punishment less necessary, and Romilly, seconded by Sir James Mackintosh, introduced legislation which gradually changed the barbarous character of existing laws in their disproportionate use of penalty. It was not, however, until 1861 that English law relating to punishment reached its present condition. It is still more severe than American law, but is actuated on the whole by just and tolerant principles. The great advance of law in inflicting punishment has been in establishing the principle of *gradation in punishment, in making the punishment proportionate to the offense.*

For the discussion of the necessity or advisability of capital punishment, see the following authorities: —

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William Jewett Tucker.

ANDOVER.

NOTES FROM ENGLAND.

THE cause of Christian union is one which all have at heart, though it is a cause which progresses slowly, because each section of the Church would rather see the other sections give up a great deal than give up much itself. A movement in England known as the Christian Conference, which owes its origin to Canon Freemantle, a well-known Liberal Churchman, deserves recognition for having succeeded in bringing together men of most varied views on the ground of their Christianity. The Conference meets twice yearly, and among those who have presided in former years have been Dean Stanley, Cardinal Manning, Archdeacon Farrar, and Professor Bryce, M. P. At the last meeting, held last month, at which the Bishop of Ripon presided, Churchmen, Roman Catholics, Independents, Methodists, and Unitarians joined in discussing the causes which have limited the success of Christianity and the possibility of a more constant and active coöperation among Christians. These discussions may appear to some easy methods of relieving the conscience of the feeling that those of other denominations are brothers in Christ, but surely a greater measure of charity and a larger sympathy is the result to those who attend. These conferences are held privately, and no reports of them are given in the papers; this has its advantage in allowing perfect freedom from restraint to the speakers, but its disadvantage in that the effect of seeing the leading men of different sections of the church joining in a cordial exchange of views is lost to the world without.

Some time ago there was published in the "Methodist Times," the organ of the progressive section of the Methodists in England, a series of very candid and strong criticisms upon the pay and conduct of the Methodist missionaries in India. The substance of these criticisms was that the missionaries live in too great ease and luxury and that their efficiency as ministers of the gospel was thereby diminished. Dr. Lunn,

the author of these criticisms, and the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, who indorsed them by inserting them in the "Methodist Times," of which he is the editor, thus threw down a challenge to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, which had to be taken up. A special Committee of Investigation was appointed, and has now reported, to the effect that the charges have not been sustained; they acquit the Indian missionaries of living in a manner inconsistent with their efficiency or profession, and at the same time they recommend certain alterations in the financial policy of the society. This report Mr. Price Hughes has loyally accepted, and he has promised to bear it in mind in his public attitude towards the Missionary Society, of which, indeed, he has been a most powerful advocate at home; but at the same time he has refused to withdraw the obnoxious articles which he published. The difficulty and differences, which have arisen, appear to be due to the fact that the Wesleyan Missionary Committee and Mr. Price Hughes have distinct notions about the true aim and method of foreign missions. This is especially apparent in the question which was raised as to the attendance of missionaries at the levees of the Viceroy or Lieutenant-Governors: the Missionary Committee consider that as their missionaries have frequent official dealings with high authorities, it is well for them to attend at court; Mr. Price Hughes, on the other hand, seems to regard the spectacle of a missionary at court as a worship of, or reliance upon, the power of this world, which is entirely contrary to the true spirit of the missionary of Christ. The controversy should now be closed, though it cannot be said to have resulted in a complete clearing up of all the issues raised.

Two matters have recently been exciting attention, which are curious in themselves and show, in very different ways, the conflicting religious elements in the British Empire. The first concerns the island of Malta, in which the British government has established the Roman Catholic religion as a state church. For some time past there have been doubts as to the legality of mixed marriages there, such unions being not infrequent between British soldiers and native women of the island. Recently Sir Lintorn Simmons has been dispatched on a special mission to the Vatican on this and other matters. The result is an understanding between the British Government and the Pope, and an arrangement by which it is agreed that in future "marriages celebrated in Malta by all those who profess the Catholic religion, whether both contracting parties be Catholic, or whether one of them be a Catholic and the other a non-Catholic, are not and shall not be valid if they are not celebrated according to the form established by the Council of Trent;" this has given rise to a good deal of comment in Protestant circles, and it is certainly strange that our government, which supports an Established Church "as a bulwark of Protestantism," and has just defeated in the House of Commons a bill to throw open to Roman Catholics the highest legal appointments in the kingdom, should refuse to a Protestant in one of its colonies, who may wish to marry a Roman Catholic, any marriage ceremony other than that of the Roman Catholic Church.

The other matter, which illustrates the complexity of our religious life, is the suggestion, that the decennial census, which will be taken next year, shall include an enumeration of religious persuasions. In the census of 1851 an inquiry was made into the accommodation of the various places of worship and the attendance on a given Sunday; the re-

sults were declared erroneous and misleading by the advocates of some religious denominations, who thought they had a stronger following. In the bill authorizing the census of 1861 it was provided that inquiry be made into the "religious profession of every living person," but this inquiry was so objectionable to many, as an infraction of religious liberty, and as dealing with opinions rather than facts, that since 1851 no religious census of any kind has been taken. This year the demand for a religious census is made by those who think that it may afford the basis for argument for or against the Disestablishment movement. But probability seems to lie in the direction of the tradition of the last thirty years being preserved, and no census of religious professions being taken.

The political arena has lately been the scene of one of those contests, which are waged with all the more energy and earnestness, because they are not purely political but largely social. The conservative party, now in power, which has for years declared that no further legislation was possible or desirable in the direction of controlling the drink traffic, has at length become convinced that the licenses to sell intoxicating liquors in our country have been too freely granted, and that their number ought not to be increased. This step in advance has been generally well received, not only by "the temperance party," but also by "the trade," as the publicans, brewers, and distillers call their business, because licensed shops, which at present exist, are now to be less liable to competition from new licenses. But the government made a further proposal, namely, that a certain extra tax was to be placed upon spirits, the proceeds of which were to be placed in the hands of the County Councils, who with them should buy up any licensed houses which they thought unnecessary; it was to be only by agreement that the County Councils could treat for the purchase of licenses. The objections taken to this scheme have mainly been, that the sums allotted to the various County Councils were ridiculously small, and would admit of no real benefit being done, that it was admitting the principle of "compensation," that is, that licenses to sell drink can only be taken away when payment is made for them, though on the face of a license it is only granted for a year, and every license has to be annually continued, while recent legal decisions have shown that the magistrates, who grant the license, have an absolute discretion to refuse to continue it, if they so please. Great popular demonstrations have been held against these proposals throughout the country and dissatisfaction with them was freely expressed by supporters of the government in the House of Commons; the normal government majority of eighty sank to four, and eventually the objectionable clauses of the bill were withdrawn. Much, however, has been gained of which all may be glad. Both political parties stand pledged to forward legislation which will lessen the temptations to drunkenness and give the control of the licenses into the hands of representative bodies. This is a great step, and should lead before long to legislation satisfactory to all. It must be remembered by those not familiar with our institutions that no intoxicating liquor can be sold in this country without a license; that this license is granted by the magistrates, who form the only non-representative body now known in our system of local government; that the admitted evil of too many licenses has grown from their readiness to grant licenses contrary to the wishes of the majority, or the better part, of the population, and that the burning question of compensation being given to those who are deprived of licenses by the

refusal to renew them, is the only obstacle to a very great reform, which must come soon, and may bring untold blessings to the community.

The eyes of the public have been drawn very much towards Africa during the last two months. This is partly due to the return of Mr. H. M. Stanley from the relief of Emin Pasha, partly to the question of the slave trade raised by the conference at Brussels, partly to the international arrangement between Germany and Britain, by which the boundaries of certain large tracts of land, to which each country makes a claim, are fixed so as to define what is German and what British territory. Our imperial dominions constantly present difficult problems; at the present moment there are at least three of pressing importance, — the question of the French rights in the fisheries of Newfoundland, the granting of a constitution to the colony of Western Australia, and — largest and most complicated — the great African question. Any one desiring to understand this African problem, its difficulties and prospective benefits, will find the fullest and clearest statement of them, as far as South Africa is concerned, in Mr. John Mackenzie's "Austral Africa. Losing it or Ruling it" (London, 1887, 2 vols.). Of the problem, as it appears in East Africa, there is no work so full and comprehensive. Mr. Mackenzie, who has been a missionary in South Africa, and knows the question from all sides, sums up the situation by declaring against anything like a policy of shrinking or shirking. It is premature to say as yet whether this phrase can be applied to the negotiations of the present government respecting Africa, but there is no doubt that the British nation is yearly growing more and more alive to the greatness of its imperial possessions and the seriousness of its imperial responsibilities. The African policy of our statesmen will not be satisfactory, if it fails in giving recognition to the growing imperial instincts of the nation.

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BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

SUPERNATURAL REVELATION : An Essay concerning the Basis of the Christian Faith. By C. M. MEAD, PH. D., D. D., late professor in Andover Theological Seminary. 8vo, pp. xv. 469. \$2.50. Anson D. F. Randolph & Co., New York.

In this work are discussed some of the questions involved in the conflict between supernaturalism and anti-supernaturalism. The object is to meet not only the positive opposition of unbelief, but also to elucidate the grounds on which a rational faith in Christianity rests.

THE title and the prospectus of this book give, with sufficient fullness, its aim and contents. It remains for the reviewer to state, simply, how perfectly, in his opinion, the book reaches its high aim, and how accurately it examines and describes the wide field of thought and scholarship which it traverses. This is, in the main, no difficult task. The former pupils and the many friends and admirers of Professor Mead need no assurance that any work which comes from his hand will bear the marks of broad scholarship, of patient investigation, of acute criticism,

of pellucid statement, of an unwavering faith in the central doctrines of the Christian faith and of evangelical zeal. This latest book has all these characteristics of the professor's earlier writings, and is enriched by the fruits of added years of reading and reflection.

The limited space which can be assigned to this review makes it quite impossible even to state Dr. Mead's views upon many of the questions which he discusses; questions which relate to the origin and grounds of theistic belief, the nature and the need of a supernatural revelation, the purpose and the proof of miracles, and the relation of Christianity to Judaism. The chapters which treat upon these subjects are very instructive and suggestive. But the main interest centres in the last three chapters, which discuss the questions of the inspiration of Biblical writers, the authority of the Scriptures, and the conditions and limits of Biblical criticism. This review will be limited to these chapters.

It is possible that the large concessions which are made to the freer methods of treating the Bible which now prevail, may surprise some who are accustomed to the older ways of thinking, and who seem to fear that any concessions will lead to a surrender; but they will, doubtless, be regarded by many others as the most original and valuable parts of the book, and, we may hope, will aid in confirming the faith of those whose faith needs confirmation, while they cannot shake a faith which is already established; for it can hardly be doubted that a strict, unyielding view of the inspiration and infallibility of the Scriptures tends to increase the perplexities and doubts of many. The vital question in the minds of a great multitude of people to-day is not this, Is the Bible an absolutely perfect and infallible book? but this rather, Can we admit its imperfection and yet maintain faith in the doctrines which it teaches? It helps such people to learn that a candid and learned man is able to admit imperfection in the Bible, and yet hold that it contains a revelation from God, given through inspired men, — that it is not infallible, and yet is able to make men wise unto salvation.

We do not hesitate, then, to pronounce the tenth chapter, which treats of the authority of the Scriptures, as not only the most original and courageous, but also the most helpful chapter of the book. This chapter ought to be read and carefully studied by every sincere and earnest man.

In it the author says, —

"The general theory that the Bible is absolutely perfect and infallible does not solve the particular questions respecting which differences of opinion exist. From the general proposition, that the Bible is infallible, one may infer that all apparent contradictions and errors may somehow be explained away. *Somehow*, but how? Where is the rule of interpretation to be found? Little or no help is obtained by saying, with the authors of the Westminster Confession, that 'the infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture is the Scripture itself.' If the Bible, like a living pope, could issue an authoritative and unmistakable utterance, whenever its meaning is dark or disputed, and thus remove all doubts and differences, there would indeed be an end of all controversy. But so long as this is not the case, the statement that the Bible infallibly interprets itself must be regarded as more rhetorical than serviceable. Doubtless in an important sense the Bible is self-interpreting; one part helps us to understand another, — as may be said of any other book. But when it is said that the Bible furnishes an *infallible* rule of interpretation, we cannot but ask how a rule can be infallible which, in point of fact, when applied by different Christian interpreters, yields discordant results. The infallibility of the rule is of no use unless it can be infallibly applied; and how this is to be done we can never know, until we find *another* infallible rule by which we can

infallibly determine how this first infallible rule is to be infallibly used by fallible Christians." (Page 342.)

The inevitable conclusion of this acute reasoning is thus stated : —

"No theory of Biblical infallibility is susceptible of proof. The Bible does not affirm its own infallibility. . . . But more than this : the Bible not only does not affirm its own perfectness, it affirms its own imperfectness. Especially is the Old Testament declared to be defective. . . . The New Testament abounds in utterances which imply or assert this. . . . If we compare, for example, Ps. lxix. 21-28 with the account of Christ's crucifixion, we find that the Psalmist, after charging his enemies with giving him vinegar to drink, supplicates God to pour out his indignation on them ; while Jesus, whose similar experience is regarded as typified by this (John xix. 28), begs God to forgive his enemies. If we compare this with Christ's own comment on the *lex talionis* (Matt. v. 38-46), it is impossible to pronounce the spirit of the Psalmist to be a model for ourselves. If, however, on Christ's own warrant we may charge faultiness on one feature of the Old Testament, what shall hinder us from extending the charge over other features ? (Pages 344, 345.)

The following pages show that such imperfection is inevitable in a book which is intended to teach ignorant and sinful men the truth as they are able to receive it, — that a perfect book given to imperfect men would have been perfectly useless.

The doctrine of Inspiration is discussed in a similar spirit, and approached from the same point of view. While believing heartily that the writers of the Scriptures wrote under a special influence of the Holy Spirit, the author does not hesitate to say : —

"The proof of the fact of a revelation does not depend on the assumption of the special inspiration of the Biblical writers." (Page 281.)

"It certainly does follow from what we have here conceded concerning inspiration, that it is not of the central importance which it has often been made to assume. One may hold to all the essential doctrines of revealed religion ; one may exercise the most perfect faith in Jesus Christ ; one may insist on the unique value of the Bible, and yet see no sufficient reason to believe that any exceptional supernatural influence was exerted on its authors when they were writing it." (Page 283.)

The question of the canon of the Scriptures is treated in the same free manner.

"The final fixing of the limits of the Canon seems, accordingly, to have been determined by a sort of chance. Not even the decrees of Councils have been universally respected. And to this day, though no formal change in the Canon can now ever be expected to be generally agreed upon, yet individual Christians do not hesitate to exercise the same right of recognition or rejection of the canonical authority of certain books which was exercised by Clement, Origen, Jerome, and Augustine." (Page 291.)

It should be noted, however, that the reader finds some difficulty in reconciling this with the following language, which occurs a few pages later : —

"The very fact that these writings, and no others of the many that appear to have come early into existence, were acknowledged and used by the early Christians as canonical, is itself an evidence that they were regarded as composed under the special direction of the Spirit." (Page 311.)

It must be observed, also, that in a later chapter the right to criticise the canon seems to be put under some limitations. It is said : —

"Neither critical research nor Christian insight will ever effect a reconstruc-

tion or expurgation of the Canon of Sacred Scripture." (Page 363.) "The Canon of Scripture, then, especially that of the New Testament, practically stands or falls with Christianity itself." (Page 365.)

The earlier and later statements when combined seem to mean this: individual Christians may, like Clement and others, deny canonical authority to certain books of the Bible (these individual Christians may constitute the majority of the church, or may embrace all members of the church); but they can never omit these books from the formal Canon. It is a question whether this is not actually taking place. For how many Christians does the Song of Solomon form a part of the *real* as distinguished from the *formal* Canon? How often is it read for spiritual enlightenment or moral strength? The portion of the 69th Psalm of which the author justly says: "it is impossible to pronounce the spirit of the Psalmist to be a model for ourselves," will doubtless always be found in the Psalter; but does that make it in any real sense a part of the Canon of the Christian Scriptures?

It is a fair question whether at this point and in some other cases, the expressions of the book are quite consistent, — if, indeed, the fundamental ideas are always firmly held to. For example, the author says: —

"We cannot deny one's right to question the accuracy of certain particular narratives of miracles, provided there are especial reasons for doubt. . . . So long as the *particular doubts* are grounded in the *general faith* itself, they cannot be called unchristian doubts, even though others may deem them without sufficient warrant. . . . May one doubt the miraculous conception of Jesus Christ, and yet retain a belief in the New Testament narratives of miracles in general? It is certain that many do take this position. . . . There is a *possibility* of an early admixture of legendary matter in the evangelical narratives. . . . It will doubtless continue to be believed by the most of those who hold to supernatural Christianity at all. But there will always be some Christian minds to whom this account of the miraculous conception will seem inherently improbable. A still greater number probably will stumble at the story of the demonized swine (Matt. viii. 28-33), and of the cursing of the barren fig-tree (Matt. xxi. 18-20), and for the reason that they do not seem to be in harmony with the general character and ordinary miracles of Christ. In like manner the story of the rising of the saints after the crucifixion of Christ, told only by Matthew (xxvii. 52, 53), seems to many, who are not anti-supernaturalists, intrinsically so improbable that they hesitate to believe in its literal truth." (Pages 222-224.)

After such generous concessions to those who find it necessary to make some discriminations in the narratives of Biblical miracles, why has the author found it necessary to present an elaborate argument (pages 436-451) to show the great difficulty of maintaining faith in Christ while doubting the story of Jonah and the great fish? Is faith in this miracle, and in the accuracy of Matthew's report of our Lord's reference to it, more essential than faith in the story of the miraculous conception of Jesus?

It is not affirmed, however, that the apparent inconsistency amounts to a contradiction. It is inconsistency in proportion or emphasis. The impression left is that it involves a degree of blindness or hardness to doubt the miracle of Jonah's miraculous preservation, not involved in doubting or denying miracles which seem to lie much nearer the heart of a true faith in the matchless person and perfect wisdom of Jesus.

Perhaps a more significant want of perfect consistency appears in Dr. Mead's treatment of "Christian consciousness" or spiritual insight, in its

relation to the Scriptures. In a very acute argument (pages 318-321), it is shown that this sort of personal insight is an entirely inadequate guide in the decision of critical questions; and yet in a later discussion concerning the date and authorship of the Pentateuchal codes, the author says:—

"It does not follow that if, on that ground [the ground of critical attack and defense], the result of the conflict may at the best appear to be somewhat doubtful, the Christian believer is to yield up his cherished faith. No; there is another weapon which he may and will use, and cannot be made to surrender: he will maintain an unconquerable conviction that God cannot have allowed the record of his revelation to be adulterated and vitiated by fraud and forgery. Christian insight and feeling have a validity of their own." (Page 383.)

"The course of reasoning it [the common mind] will adopt is short, but conclusive: If Jesus was either so ignorant as not to know that the Scriptures to which he ascribed divine authority were vitiated by fraud, or so unscrupulous as to endorse them although he knew of the fraud, then he cannot be the Truth, the Way, and the Life. But we are sure that in him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and of knowledge, and that therefore he cannot have been either thus ignorant or thus unscrupulous; consequently we cannot and will not believe any one who pretends to have discovered that the Bible is full of fictitious history, fraudulent legislation, and supposititious homilies. We have not so learned Christ." (Page 385.)

Of course, with these premises and this conclusion critical discussion or investigation must end, at least for Christians, and it is not surprising that the author should plainly say, "We will not dwell on the critical difficulties which this theory of the 'higher criticism' involves" (page 381). Yet we cannot but regret that a writer so admirably equipped as Dr. Mead is, has not set forth some of the more critical arguments bearing upon this theory of the higher criticism, for those who do not feel themselves to be in the dilemma of either rejecting Christ as their Saviour, or of holding to a certain origin and original purpose of the Pentateuch.

To many readers, however, this earnest appeal to the validity of Christian insight and feeling as competent to settle, off-hand, intricate critical questions, will appear to be the most valuable part of this learned and able book. And even those who cannot follow the author at these points will regard them as simply illustrations of that imperfection which must needs mar every human work, however excellent it may be, and which, as Dr. Mead affirms, even the sacred Scriptures have not entirely escaped.

William H. Ryder.

THE CHURCH'S CERTAIN FAITH. By GEORGE ZABRISKIE GRAY, late Dean of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.50.

This book contains the Baldwin Lectures for 1889. Owing to the illness and death of Dean Gray they were not delivered, and the first lecture, for the same reason, was left unfinished. The Lectureship was recently established in the interest of students in Michigan University, for the establishment and defense of Christian truth, and the incumbent is always to be a learned clergyman or communicant of the Protestant Episcopal Church. In this instance the lecturer aimed to present, in popular form, the essential elements of Christianity and the reasonable

grounds for believing it. The topics are: What is Belief; What is Christianity; Was Jesus Christ an Historical Reality; Who was Jesus Christ; What did Christ found; What is Theology; and The Bible. The writer finds the essence of Christianity in the facts which are recited in the Apostles' Creed, which constitute a message of hope to sinning and suffering men, and not in any particular theories concerning those facts. The reality of Christ, as He stands before the faith of the Church, is established by the results which point back to Him, and is not dependent wholly upon ancient writings. Christ is divine because He reveals the moral character of God to the world, and, although, as human, He did not possess omnipotence and omniscience, yet his humanity was a perfect organ for revealing the love and holiness of God, as a lens may focus the image of the sun. He founded the church, not in the sense that He created the organization and fixed its laws, but in the sense that it was a necessary result and expression of his gospel. Dean Gray maintains urgently that the church is organized and united through its ministry, and devotes the lecture on the Church chiefly to a defense of the historic Episcopate as necessary to the well-being, and almost certainly to the very being, of the church. Some of his statements concerning the origin of the Episcopate are not fully borne out by facts, and the lecture is quite unsatisfactory to those who are familiar with Lightfoot's exhaustive discussion of the Christian ministry. The power of the Bible is found in the irresistible impression of its moral and religious truth.

A spirit of candor and catholicity pervades the book, and it is well suited both to strengthen the faith of such Christians as are perplexed about the claims of their religion, and to answer, fairly and broadly, the questions of those who are inquiring what Christianity is, and on what sufficient grounds it rests.

George Harris.

NOTES ON DIFFICULT PASSAGES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By REV. ELLIAS RIGGS, D. D. Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, Congregational House, Boston; 175 Wabash Avenue, Chicago. Pp. 259. Price, \$1.25.

Any one who is acquainted with the illustrious service which Dr. Riggs has rendered the Christian church must read this little book with a deep, perhaps a pathetic, interest. It records the efforts of a venerable and devout man to show just how far the doctrine of the infallibility of the writers of the New Testament may safely yield to the results of modern thought and scholarship, and to quiet the doubts which gather about the interpretation of specific passages. It is a grave question, however, whether it will not start more questions than it answers and rouse more doubts than it allays. This is due in about equal parts to its excellences and to its defects. It is simple and candid, it states difficulties which it hardly attempts to answer (as, for example, in the note on 1 Peter iii. 18-20), it makes concessions which must carry the thoughtful reader further than the author thinks it safe to go.

So far, at least, as the Gospels are concerned, it begins with a statement of the writer's faith, which seems to make the effort to explain specific difficulties almost a work of supererogation. He says: "I have a firm persuasion that the inspiration afforded to the writers of these precious memoirs of our Saviour was such as to prevent any real dis-

crepancy, and that, if all the circumstances were known to us, the difficulties would entirely disappear." (Page 3.)

If this "firm persuasion" could be established in the minds of the readers, the question of the *method* of solving apparent discrepancies would become little more than a verbal or historical puzzle. When one knows his answer before he begins, the way in which he is to verify it is of secondary importance. But the effort to make everything square with this conviction will, probably, satisfy no one who does not rest the conviction on other than exegetical grounds.

Two examples will illustrate the measure of success gained in the application of this principle. The minute difference between Matthew x. 10 and Mark vi. 8, where the former reads "nor staff," and the latter, "save a staff only," is thus made to disappear. "It is a sufficient reconciliation of the two directions, if we suppose that our Lord charged his disciples not to encumber themselves with luggage on this brief tour, and so not to provide money or food or garments, mentioning a staff among the things not necessary to be procured; and yet remarked that, if any one had a staff and was accustomed to use it, he might take it with him" (page 42). He naively adds that Peter probably had a staff, and therefore *took* it with him, while some of his less fortunate or provident companions were forbidden to *procure* any for themselves.

Again, he finds it possible to adopt the view, said to have originated with Casaubon, of reconciling the different reports of the manner of Judas's death, given in Matthew xxvii. 5, and Acts i. 18. "If Judas hung himself from a tree on the precipitous slope of the valley of Hinnom, the breaking of a cord or of a branch might cause him to fall such a distance as to produce the result described by Luke" (page 71).

Is it not more rational, and safer, too, to admit that an inspired writer may have made mistakes, than thus to force passages into harmony? This more rational principle seems to be suggested when the author says: "We learn that the sacred writers were more concerned to give the general sense of utterances which they record than the exact words." (Page 75.)

Indeed, except in the Gospels, the author seems to find no difficulty in admitting possible errors in the language of inspired men; for example "Such a mistake [the confounding of the purchase of the cave of Machpelah by Abraham, with the parcel of ground at Shechem by Jacob (Acts vii. 16)], could it be demonstrated, need not in the slightest degree disparage the doctrine of the inspiration of the writings of the New Testament." (Page 121.) A similar admission upon a much more important matter is found in the note upon 1 Thes. iv. 13-17. "That the apostles did not know the time of that coming does not in the least disparage their inspired authority in regard to what they declare had been revealed to them. . . . That the apostles should share in the prevailing impression that the time of the Saviour's second coming was very near is not at all strange." (Page 197.)

It would be interesting to know whether Dr. Riggs would apply the same principle in interpreting our Lord's words, as reported by the Evangelists in Matthew xvi. 28, xxiv. 29-35, and elsewhere. Were they mistaken in attributing this "prevailing impression" to the Lord himself, or did he also share in this impression? The real difficulty at this point is not in the Epistles of Paul, but in the records of the Evangelists.

William H. Ryder.

AMERICAN RELIGIOUS LEADERS. DR. MUHLENBERG. By WILLIAM WILBERFORCE NEWTON, D. D. Pp. x, 272. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1890. \$1.25.

It has been charged that this biography borrows a good deal from a fuller biography without sufficiently detailed acknowledgment, and also that it is inaccurate in various particulars. We cannot answer as to either of these charges, for or against. But, having had an intimate acquaintance of eleven years with the illustrious subject of the biography (continuing until interrupted by an irreconcilable opposition of judgment on a purely personal question), we can testify that we have here a genuine picture of the noble-hearted man. The scale of presentation is no farther enlarged than is within the right and duty of the biographer of such a man, and the proportions of different parts of the character are, so far as we can judge, well preserved. At least this is true of the three things which may be called the central enterprises of his life, the establishment of the Church of the Holy Communion, the foundation of St. Luke's Hospital, and the authorship of the Memorial for a wider interpretation of the office of the Anglican Episcopate, the fruits of which are ripening fast in England and America. Dr. Muhlenberg's influence on the education of boys, which was strictly confined within the limits of the Episcopal Church, can only be judged by one who has an interior sense of the course of things in this church. In the power which he had of attracting young men to him in an unwavering filial devotion, he reminds one of St. Philip Neri. As with Neri, there flowed through his whole life the winning gladness of a single heart. His circle of discipleship, as well as Philip's, might have been not inappropriately called "a school of Christian mirth."

Dr. Muhlenberg used to say that, except one sixteenth of Indian blood (which sometimes, on occasion, would come sharply to the front, giving him very much the look of a high-bred sagamore), he had no blood in his veins but German Lutheran blood, as befitted the great-grandson of the venerable man who organized American Lutheranism. This descent ensured him that sound Protestant heart, which underlay all the ritual, and for awhile the ascetic peculiarities, that were so commonly misinterpreted, but the former of which in fact, as he himself has said, were Lutheran more than Episcopalian, and the latter of which he laid aside. "High Churchman, indeed!" he once scornfully exclaimed. "I own I was once a bit of a Puseyite, but I never was a High Churchman. How could I be, when I did not even accept the foundation doctrine of baptismal regeneration?" Dr. Newton has well interpreted and coördinated these various elements of descent and later connection, which gave Muhlenberg that true irenic influence that enabled him to appropriate all that is best in Catholicism, without ever sounding a doubtful note as to his inmost fidelity to the Reformation, and that in its central sense and in its central seat of Wittenberg. He was ready to drop anything Catholic, were it the Episcopate itself, rather than imperil the credit and power of that great work of 1517, whereby the apostolate of Paul first came to its true interpretation in the Church. And greatly as he valued the Anglican liturgy, he often lamented that it was in such a measure only a purified mass, "that it was not more thoroughly penetrated with the positive influences of the Reformation, with the spirit of Paul," acknowledging, however, that it had crystallized so perfectly in its kind, that a refusion was not to be thought of.

Dr. Muhlenberg valued the weekly celebration of the Eucharist, as is sufficiently attested by the Church of the Holy Communion. But as he grew older, he became more zealous for deeper things. He once remarked that, in an interview with Dr. Pusey, who was then getting old, the latter said that he himself had come to be sorry that what he now conceived to be a disproportionate stress had been laid upon weekly celebrations. Indeed, all these externals came to subtend a smaller angle of vision with Dr. Muhlenberg towards the end. On his return from his last visit to Europe, he spoke pleasantly of an interview he had had with Archbishop Tait, and other church dignitaries. Then, pausing a moment, he added emphatically: "But after all, the man that is doing by far the most good in London is Charles Spurgeon. People have made a great deal more out of some pulpit peculiarities than these deserve, and have exaggerated them besides. Why, to say nothing of all the rest, think of two hundred Bible readers in London maintained by him!" No wonder that a man, who so saw to the heart of things, can be doing so much, after his translation, for Christian union.

Dr. Muhlenberg has been called crotchety and fanciful in particular plans. There is something of truth in this. But, a few things apart, which he more or less perfectly accomplished, he was not inordinately attached to his individual schemes. If the great end was realized, he stood quite ready to see his idealizations melt into a better fact. His desire was that all the Lord's people might be prophets, and if anything should be revealed to another, he would have been quite ready at any time to hold his peace. Indeed, he was sometimes only too ready to see a prophet or a prophetess where other people saw something very different.

Particular schemes and views of Dr. Muhlenberg were often regarded by associates with distaste, but he himself never had occasion to complain of being undervalued. Belonging by birth and descent to the most eminent rank of society, a minister of that church whose social predominance is peculiarly marked in New York, he was never in any serious danger of losing his acknowledged position. Once, indeed, in 1865, after he had read prayers on Easter evening, in the Church of the Ascension, even then draped in mourning for the murder of Abraham Lincoln, while his friend Dr. William Adams preached, as he himself had preached on a Good Friday¹ in his friend's church, there were some mutterings which led him to say: "If I, in my old age, after a life not wholly unserviceable to the Protestant Episcopal Church, am to be thrust out of it, I shall join the Moravians. They are an ancient branch of the Catholic Church, and I could be happy in my last days with them." But of course such mutterings soon died down. Dr. Muhlenberg was never called to go without the camp, except in inward readiness. His vocation, of character and circumstances, was that of broadening the fellowship and raising the aims of the church in which he was baptized and died. He was interested in Christian movements that entailed upon their adherents a breach with old associations, and obloquy from the men of common sense. He was interested in the Reformed Episcopal movement, and much more in its antipodes, the Catholic Apostolic movement. Dr. Newton's ungracious and scornful description of the devout and pure-minded men and women, on both sides of the Atlantic, who adhere to this, as "great black insects,"

¹ If I remember right, Dr. Muhlenberg's sermon in Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church was preached two years previously.

burrowing in the dry spring of Edward Irving's genius, is as far as possible from expressing Dr. Muhlenberg's opinion of them. He greatly admired the Catholic Apostolic liturgy, and was disposed to regard it as the noblest in the world. But he had no call, and disobeyed no call, to go beyond the bounds of his birth. In other words, his cast of character was not the apostolic, but a very nobly exalted form of the pastoral, in the breadth of its application closely bordering on the apostolic. The ground-tone of his personal piety was the filial confidence of Lutheranism and the deep reverence of the school of Ken. He loved to recall the words and gesture of noble humility with which a pious monk of Paris, in talking with him, smote upon his breast, exclaiming: "Sum parvulus Christus." Too broad-minded to have been made, in the day of his prime, a bishop, he is such a saint as would have been at home with Bernard. And of the men of his own day, though he failed to appreciate Frederick Robertson, he exceedingly loved Frederick Maurice, whom he told, after hearing him give a lecture on the fourth Gospel, that he seemed to himself to have been hearing John expounded by John.

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

Edward Burton. By *Henry Woods*, author of "Natural Law in the Business World," and Various Ethical and Economic Essays.

"With an early introversion,
Through the forms of outward things,
Seeking for the subtle essence,
And the hidden springs."

Boston, MDCCCXC. Lee and Shepard, Publishers, 10 Milk Street, next "The Old South Meeting House." New York, Chas. T. Dillingham, 718 and 720 Broadway. Pp. 299. — Very agreeably written. The descriptions of natural scenes are fine, and cause us to breathe their very air, whether of the seashore or the mountain. The tone of the novel is really that of a romance, clothed in familiar incidents. And as such a romance lies at the soul of things, the future of the decaying novel, as Justin McCarthy well suggests, is to be sought in this direction. The heroine, Helen Bonbright, by indefinable touches is a nobly idealized but individual type of spiritual womanhood. The other characters (except Lord Percival, who is perfectly drawn) though not without distinctiveness, are mainly *personæ* for long, and rather heavy, disquisitions, representing the extravagances of Christian Science. Evil, in spite of all experience, is not real; all disease and suffering are but the externalizations of spirit sinking below its proper level; all attempts to amend the institutions of society are futile, since if you give the spirit a sufficient stimulus these evils will fall off of themselves. All suggestions of economic amendment, from Nihilism to the Single Tax (and logically all legislation that interferes with unbounded selfishness) are merely different aspects of one pernicious Anarchism. Thus, as often before, extravagant Quietism is the ally of Tyranny and Corporate Selfishness. The religion of the book bears the same relation to Christianity as the fantastic fancies of early Gnosticism. God is not a person (though now and again he is spoken of as the Designing Artist) but the environment of Impersonal Good; Love is a natural force, not, in God and Man, the

highest embodiment of consummate Personal Agency; Disease (and apparently Death) is an offense against the supremacy of Spirit: for a reverent trust in a wise Providence we have a quasi-magical incantation of silence and concentration of will, bringing down an impersonal force of Spirit for healing of body and mind: all, after the fashion of Gnostic extravagances, intermixing profound and elevating truths with essentially pagan deformations of them. The spirit of the book is mild and benevolent, and it protests with force against much of our materialistic Christianity, our compromises of worldliness with the gospel, which in form are nearer but in fact are farther from Christianity than the most fantastic theories that keep spiritual interests uppermost.

Marion Graham, or "Higher than Happiness." By *Meta Lander*, author of "The Broken Bud," "Light on the Dark River," "The Tobacco Problem," etc. Boston, MDCCCXC. Lee and Shepard, Publishers, 10 Milk Street, next "The Old South Meeting House." New York, Chas. T. Dillingham, 718 and 720 Broadway. Pp. 486. — This not being a first publication, but a revision, we have only occasion to speak of the purpose of this, which the author explains as being "without impairing its unity, to bring it into closer touch with modern thinking and feeling." Her conception of modern thinking is shown by the additions to be this, that theories which cross the uniqueness of Christ's place in God's universe must be allowed to shrivel up and shrink away in the light of his redemptive presence. Therefore the distinguished daughter of Dr. Leonard Woods takes her place (believing, as she has a right, that she does this in a legitimate development of thought) by the side of those who hold that there is but one canon of final judgment for all men, the apprehended character and office of Jesus Christ, known in this world or first revealed in the next. She thus firmly, and through the medium of a powerfully written story, very effectively opposes herself to the present ravages of rationalism among the Congregational churches.

Memoirs of a Millionaire. By *Lucie True Ames*, author of "Great Thoughts for Little Thinkers." Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1889. Pp. 325. \$1.25. — The numerous plans which the heroine of this book put in motion for disposing of the thirty millions that a rejected admirer is supposed to have left her, are admirably various, and seem to be admirably judicious, and studied out into effective elaborations of detail. The story is mainly the framework of this, but is romantic and noble and the opposite of mawkish. The theology is heterodox, and shows a decided inclination to drift, until it anchors to the solid rock of Dr. William T. Harris's admirable philosophy.

To one point we take exception. The heroine declares herself to be an adherent of "The New Theology." Now this name has been, by endless discussions over Andover, which she has not provoked, so united to her theology, that, as Mildred certainly diverges incompatibly from this, we are of opinion that the Seminary might go into court and maintain a suit for violation of its trade-mark. Therefore, unless the heroine has left the author one or two of her millions, let the latter tremble and make amends.

The Master of the Magicians. By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps and Herbert D. Ward.

"The man the son of his God,
Like heaven may he be pure!
Like the midst of heaven may he shine!"

BABYLONIAN INCANTATION.

Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company. 1890. Pp. 324. — This book is bathed in the sun of Babylon. The characters are defined with an answering distinctness. They have classic self-restraint of delineation, without classic coldness. The book is a singular delight to read, from beginning to end. The view of Babylonian life is, we know, as good as drawn at first-hand, so that we repose in confidence as we read. The narrative, it is true, does not give us the impression of bringing us very near to Babylonian thought, but that could not be expected. Even Ebers hardly gives us that confidence with regard to Egypt. And coming through what may be called an apocryphal book of the Canon, and treating its statements as strictly historical, it probably lands us a good way off from the actual events. But it is a beautiful and noble work of perfect art, its religion and its love alike of the finest grain.

Myths and Folk-lore of Ireland. By Jeremiah Curtin. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. 1890. — This is deliciously Irish. The old Aryan stories are differentiated so completely in it that, like the Irish language itself, they hardly seem Aryan. But they are most unmistakably Hibernian, and a good many of them, so far as our scant knowledge of folk-lore goes, Hibernian only. Here we have Cinderella as completely reaccommodated to Erin as if she had never set that delicate foot of hers in any coracle that should convey her beyond it. And all the other Cinderellas seem very commonplace alongside of her. The subtle and fantastic Celtic idealism is poured over all the stories. Is that now really Celtic, or does it belong to the *douce petite race escuarienne* among which, Professor Sayce declares, the great blond Celts were merely a conquering colony? It appears equally in the Welsh legends, but is there more delicate, and less humorous, which complicates the inquiry.

The titles alone are as good as a story: "The King of Erin and the Queen of the Lonesome Island"; "The Three Daughters of the King of the East and the Son of a King in Erin"; "The Three Daughters of King O'Hara"; and above all, "The Shee an Gannon and the Gruagach Gaire"! The localizations, as Mr. Curtin remarks, are very distinctive of these Irish myths.

The extended introduction is very interesting, and might well have been longer. The author attacks the "disease of language" theory as mistaking an eddy for the current.

The double hues of green in the binding look much better in place there than when flaunting on American public buildings, where only our sneaking cowardice before the Irish vote suffers this alien color to be.

Articles on Romanism. Monsignor Capel: Dr. Littledale. By the Reverend John Henry Hopkins, S. T. D. New York: Thomas Whitaker, 2 & 3 Bible House. 1890. Pp. 200. \$1.00. — This little book is not of much use to Protestants, but will doubtless be very acceptable to Episcopalian sacerdotalists. As we understand the author, he holds that our Lord's prohibitions of the assumption of dominion and superior-

ity are not addressed to his disciples at large, but only mean that the Apostles are to acknowledge *each other* as brethren. He says expressly, that the kingdom was given to the Apostles. We have therefore from Christ no precepts against unbrotherly lordliness in his church, but merely a political constitution, that the Kingdom is to be under the delegated dominion of a Collegiate Aristocracy, and not of a Viceroyalty. A very important matter, truly, for the body of believers! But sacerdotalists, of course, scorn the Christian consciousness where it would abate the pretensions of their system. If they were Congregational divines, slashing away against the disciples of John Robinson, they could not have a greater horror of it.

The learning is of the cheap and easy kind, as is the American fashion when Roman Catholic matters are in question. The author, on two vital points, falls into grief rather funnily, the mortification appertaining, of course, to him, and the enjoyment of it to those that are wicked enough to take it. One occasion is when he quotes Thomas Aquinas in triumph to prove that the secession of a bishop from Rome takes away none of his attributes, and afterwards discovers that Aquinas makes a profoundly important exception. One would think that a churchman of the author's pretensions might at least have picked up enough knowledge of the system which he is pommeling to be aware that of the seven sacraments jurisdiction is held to be a condition of validity with two, but above all with the great sacrament of Penance. And it will never do to assume a divergence from Aquinas without verifying it. The other instance is where he talks as if Monsignor Capel did not know what he was saying in conceding the abstract possibility of Anglican orders and denying that of an Anglican mission, discovering afterwards that mission is merely another side of jurisdiction. But in both cases he is man enough to give the retraction alongside of the blunder.

The writer's quotations from the Fathers cut up Ultramontanism pretty thoroughly by the roots. Some are specially valuable, — those which show other bishops receiving the very predicates which we are accustomed to think of as peculiar to Rome. But they leave it none the less true, that the logical development of ancient Catholicism is modern Romanism. Rome is the mother of Catholicism, and Rome, like Saturn, is fated to devour her own offspring, and to devour it for good. If these sacerdotalists imagine that they can overthrow the Papal despotism and then restore the Cyprianic despotism, let them try the experiment. Many a one has tried it before them, and has at last been only too glad to become a learner under the great mistress of priestcraft, the Woman of the Seven Hills.

The author's dapper confidence that bishops are apostles is very entertaining. Also his certainty that never in the church was a presbyter competent to ordain. Compare with this the candor of the profound ecclesiastical scholar, Principal Gore, who is content to say, "that it is not proved — nay, it is not even perhaps probable — that any presbyter had in any age the power to ordain." But knowledge, it is true, is often a very inconvenient thing, in clipping the wings of a saucy confidence.

The author boasts that Protestants — from whom, of course, he proudly distinguishes himself — are evidently drawing towards the Church. If he imagines that because a greater favor than in contentious times is now shown towards the historic episcopate, there is the slight-

est approach of Protestants to his theories, he is woefully at fault. But, as Dr. J. Macbride Sterrett, in his admirable tractate on Christian unity, says, unity will never come to the universal church — in its true sense of all believers — at the hands of a party which encourages the “suspicion that the office and its work are hopelessly connected with a theology and an ecclesiastical tendency which is out of all sympathy with the current intellectual, social, and religious life of our Protestant Christianity.”

The style of the book is as undignified as its scholarship is light and loose, its conception of the Church unworthy of the depth of Christian franchises, and its object unworthy the attention of thoughtful men.

Christian Unity. Being the Appendix to “Studies in Hegel’s Philosophy of Religion.” By J. Macbride Sterrett, D. D., Professor of Ethics and Apologetics in the Seabury Divinity School. D. Appleton & Co., Publishers, New York. 1890. Pp. 348 (in paper). — Reverse everything said in the last notice, and we need no better indication of the character of this little treatise. The author goes frankly back to Hooker’s plea for Episcopacy, as being (what it undoubtedly is) “an ancient, decent, and convenient polity,” and treats it with a breadth and brotherliness impossible to Hooker, and perhaps to his times, but now, thank God, daily more thoroughly feasible, and nowhere more completely so than under the Diocesan whose name gives its special lustre to the see of Minnesota. The type of Christianity illustrated in this, in being at once heartily Catholic and heartily Protestant, marks an essential advance over both these names, in the sense which they have borne from of old. The author quotes, to admirable purpose, the following extract from a sermon of the Rev. E. S. Ffoulkes, after his return from the Roman Catholics: “We are impatient that the Roman Church refuses to admit our orders: let us now observe that attitude toward Lutherans, Calvinists, and Wesleyans, that we should wish Rome hereafter to observe toward us; let us not be too stiff in our requirements, too captious in our criticisms, too certain that our views are not founded on prejudice, and do not require modifying to be consistent with truth. We have a great fight to wage, but not with Christians.”

Charles C. Starbuck.

